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THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM in the UNITED STATES

Research Report Number 58

National Industrial Conference Board
New York

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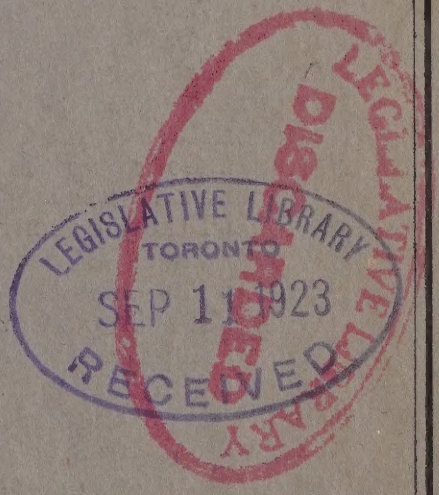

National Industrial Conference Board
NEW YORK

National Industrial Conference Board

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THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES

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Foreword

The current discussion of the immigration problem in view of the approaching expiration of the Per Centum Limit Act of 1921 has made evident not only the general demand for a permanent and carefully considered national policy toward immigration, but the wide diversity of interests and points of view involved in it. The discussion, moreover, has made especially clear the fact that the immigration problem is, in the present world situation, a problem essentially human in character and international in scope. It involves questions of human biology, world economics and international policy which cannot fairly be approached from any single point of view, or without fuller and more accurate knowledge of the complex and controversial factors entering into it. A comprehensive and humane immigration policy can be developed only out of far-sighted and scientifically grounded views of national and international social and economic progress and human welfare.

To assist in the development of such views of the problem the National Industrial Conference Board presents in this report a concise exposition of the available information essential to a broader understanding of the diverse aspects of the question and of the more important factors which a permanent and constructive immigration policy for the United States must take into account.

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The Immigration Problem in the United States

INTRODUCTION

The immigration problem cannot be fruitfully considered as a wholly new problem, as a local issue, or as a purely national question, nor is it to be regarded exclusively as a special economic, social or political problem. The shifting of the world's peoples is as old as mankind itself, and the immigration problem as we know it today has arisen out of a background of human migrations reaching far back into history, which have affected all nations. Like these movements, the present migration has been the product of forces in human nature and circumstance, social, economic and political, most complex and often obscure in character, but because of the international network of economic and political relations, the movements of population today affect a far wider circle of interests than those in the places emigrants come from and those to which they go. To such an extent has the world become unified that human migration today sets up reactions of international scope, raising problems in which economic, social, political, cultural and religious considerations are inextricably interwoven. The immigration problem has become in a wider sense than ever before a world problem, and the economic, social and political questions it raises are only aspects of the never-ending movement of individuals and peoples in search of wider opportunity and fuller life.

In this sense it is clear that the specific questions involved in the immigration problem in the United States today can be understood and constructively dealt with only in the light of a vast knowledge of racial history, of human psychology, and of heredity, no less than of a full understanding of the volume and character of the population movements into the United States, and their relation to American industrial, social and political life, and to conditions abroad. Such knowledge has grown as the problems arising out of immigration have grown, but it is

not as yet adequate to justify more than a tentative answer to some of the questions involved, or more than an experimental attitude in seeking to deal with them. The most extensive published study of the American immigration problem[1]—that of the United States Immigration Commission of 1907, published in 1910—is now thirteen years old. Vast changes have taken place in world conditions since then, which may be assumed to have so altered the character of the immigration problem as a human question, international in its bearing, that many of the conclusions upon which American policy has been based may no longer be valid. New light has since been thrown on many of the more obscure questions of racial and social character as a result of the war and of subsequent study, but the significance and value of this material is still in controversy.

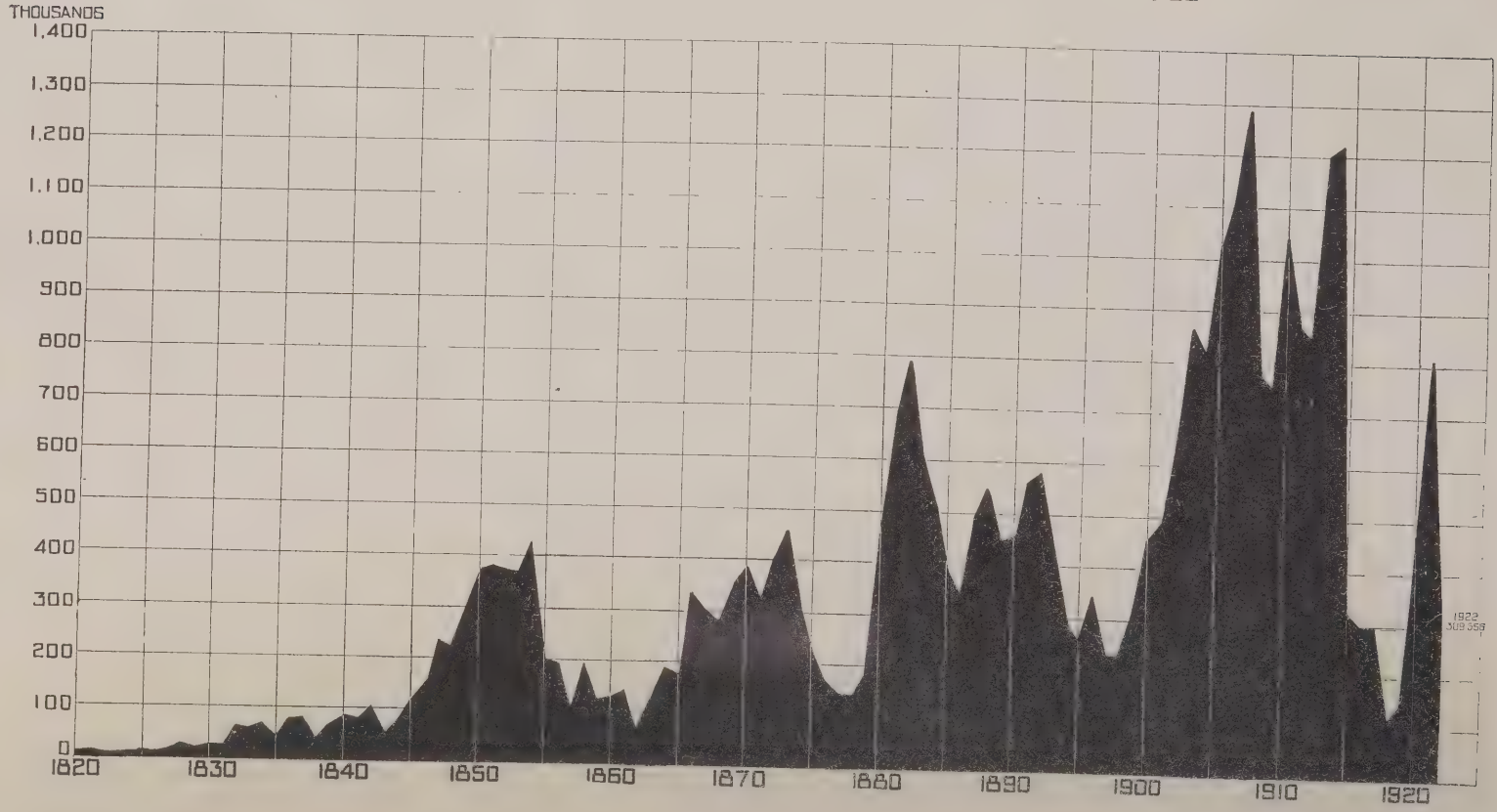
Meanwhile, however, there has been constant pressure for the alteration of our policies toward immigration and for the formulation of new policies, dictated by new conditions, and it has been necessary to base action on such knowledge and understanding as is available. In a question of such scope and importance, in which public opinion plays so strong a part, it is the more necessary that such knowledge as exists be made generally available in order that the resulting policy may express an intelligent public understanding of the problem.

The purpose of this report, therefore, is primarily to present in concise and simple form the outstanding available information which will indicate the character and essential features of the immigration problem, as it presents itself to the United States today. The first chapter analyzes the history and causes of the immigration movement, stressing particularly the changes in the racial character of the immigration. The second chapter outlines the nature of the problems which past and present immigration have created in American social, economic and political life. The third sketches the developments in American legislative policy which have grown out of the changing tide of immigration and out of the social questions it has raised. The fourth describes the operation of the present temporary immigration laws in relation to these policies and problems and to conditions abroad, and the fifth chapter reviews the suggestions that have been offered for a permanent national immigration policy.

[1]U. S. 61st Congress. 3rd Session. Senate Document 747, Reports of the Immigration Commission, Washington, 1911.

The material for these chapters has been drawn from the reports of the United States Bureau of Immigration and the voluminous literature dealing with immigration, debates in Congress, various hearings before Congressional committees, and private conferences. In the discussion of the relation of the present immigration law to the country's labor supply the results of original investigations by the National Industrial Conference Board have been used.

CHART 1: TREND OF IMMIGRATION, FISCAL YEARS 1820–1922



I

HISTORY AND CAUSES OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION

Immigration did not become a distinct problem in the United States until early in the nineteenth century. In order to understand the problems it has raised since that time, it is necessary first to know the facts with respect to the trend and causes of the immigration movement itself. Historically, immigration into the United States dates from the time that the colonies became a nation, since before that time aliens arriving in the colonies were regarded as colonists. How many immigrants arrived prior to 1820 is not known, because officially recorded statistics were not compiled until that year; their number, however, could not have been large, for as late as 1820 the number arriving in one year was only slightly in excess of 8,300.[1]

Between the years 1820 and 1923, two noteworthy changes are apparent in the trend of immigration. These are: first, a change with respect to the number arriving and, second, a change with respect to the countries from which the majority of immigrants have come.

Changes in Numbers from 1820 to 1923

Immigration from 1820 to 1923 shows a general increase, as may be seen from Table 1 and Chart 1.[2] In 1820 the total immigration was 8,385. The figure did not rise above 100,000 until 1842, when it was 104,565. Five years later it had passed 200,000; by 1851 it was 379,466, and by 1854 it had risen to 427,833.

[1]The word "immigration" is used throughout this report to apply to the group designated as "immigrant" in government statistics. In such statistics the terms "immigrant" and "emigrant" now relate to permanent arrivals and departures; the terms "non-immigrant" and "non-emigrant," to temporary arrivals and departures. The figures of the United States Bureau of Immigration, however, did not distinguish between immigrant and non-immigrant aliens until 1907. From 1820 to 1867 the figures were for alien passengers arriving; from 1868 to 1903, for immigrants arriving; from 1904 to 1906, for aliens admitted; and from 1907 to date, for immigrant aliens admitted. Therefore, the word "immigrant" is unavoidably used with different meanings at different periods.

[2]Throughout the present report, when years are mentioned in reference to government statistics, they indicate the fiscal year ended with the year in question. From 1820 to 1831 and from 1844 to 1850 the fiscal year ended September 30; from 1833 to 1842 and from 1851 to 1856 the fiscal year ended December 31; since 1858, the fiscal year has ended June 30. Figures for 1923 are for the first nine months of the fiscal year.

TABLE 1: NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING IN THE UNITED STATES IN FISCAL YEARS 1820–1923*

Fiscal year	Number of immigrants	Fiscal year	Number of immigrants	Fiscal year	Number of immigrants
1820	8,385	1855	200,877	1890	455,302
1821	9,127	1856	195,857	1891	560,319
1822	6,911	1857[c]	112,123	1892	579,663
1823	6,354	1858	191,942	1893	439,730
1824	7,912	1859	129,571	1894	285,631
1825	10,199	1860	133,143	1895	258,536
1826	10,837	1861	142,877	1896	343,267
1827	18,875	1862	72,183	1897	230,832
1828	27,382	1863	132,925	1898	229,299
1829	22,520	1864	191,114	1899	311,715
1830	23,322	1865	180,339	1900	448,572
1831	22,633	1866	332,577	1901	487,918
1832[a]	60,482	1867	303,104	1902	648,743
1833	58,640	1868	282,189	1903	857,046
1834	65,365	1869	352,768	1904	812,870
1835	45,374	1870	387,203	1905	1,026,499
1836	76,242	1871	321,350	1906	1,100,735
1837	79,340	1872	404,806	1907	1,285,349
1838	38,914	1873	459,803	1908	782,870
1839	68,069	1874	313,339	1909	751,786
1840	84,066	1875	227,498	1910	1,041,570
1841	80,289	1876	169,986	1911	878,587
1842	104,565	1877	141,857	1912	838,172
1843[b]	52,496	1878	138,469	1913	1,197,892
1844	78,615	1879	177,826	1914	1,218,480
1845	114,371	1880	457,257	1915	326,700
1846	154,416	1881	669,431	1916	298,826
1847	234,968	1882	788,992	1917	295,403
1848	226,527	1883	603,322	1918	110,618
1849	297,024	1884	518,592	1919	141,132
1850[a]	369,980	1885	395,346	1920	430,001
1851	379,466	1886	334,203	1921	805,228
1852	371,603	1887	490,109	1922	309,556
1853	368,645	1888	546,889	1923[d]	373,511
1854	427,833	1889	444,427		

*Source: U. S. Bureau of Immigration. Annual Report of the Commissioner General, 1922, p. 108; and monthly releases, 1923.
[a]Fifteen months ending December 31.
[b]Nine months ending September 30.
[c]Six months ending June 30.
[d]Nine months ending March 31, 1923.

During the next twenty-five years there was a marked decrease and, except in 1872 and 1873, the 400,000 level was not reached again until 1880. In 1905 the 1,000,000 mark was passed for the first time, and in 1907 the largest immigration which the United States has ever known occurred—the total number of arrivals in that year reaching 1,285,349. Again in 1910, in 1913 and in 1914, immigration was over 1,000,000. The war period brought with it a sharp falling off in immigra-

tion, the annual average for the five-year period 1915–1919 being only 234,536. In 1920 the immigration total stood at 430,001. In 1921 a tendency to approach the pre-war volume was indicated by the entrance of 805,228 immigrants. The Per Centum Limit Act of May, 1921, restricting immigration from European countries to 3% of the total number of foreign born from each country resident in the United States, as shown by the Census of 1910, and supplementing the restrictions of previous laws, resulted in a decrease of the total immigration to 309,556 in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1922, a number somewhat under the total immigration in 1850.

The statistics of immigration show that while, as already indicated, there has been a general increase since the year 1820, this upward trend has been interrupted from time to time. The panic years 1837, 1873, 1884, 1893 and 1907 were each followed by a marked decline in immigration. In 1838, immigration was about one-half that in 1837. In the six-year depression period from 1873 to 1878 immigration declined from 459,803 at the beginning to 138,469 at the end. The panics of 1893 and 1907 were followed by an immigration about one-half of that in the year before. On the other hand, immigration has been greatly stimulated during periods of business prosperity in the United States. In response to the demand for labor in the period of canal development in the twenties and of railroad building in the thirties of the nineteenth century, immigration increased from a level of about 10,000 to over 70,000 per year. The opening of the West, with its accompanying opportunities, attracted a large number of immigrants from Europe. After 1880, when the intensive development of the manufacturing industries of the United States greatly increased the demand for labor, a further augmentation in the number of aliens arriving took place. This movement of immigrants was further intensified in the first ten years of the present century.

In addition to the cyclical movement of immigration, which coincides closely with the cyclical movement of business, a regular seasonal movement in immigration can also be noted. Each year, whether immigration is small or large, a high point is usually reached in the early summer and a low point in December or January. The operation of the Per Centum Limit Act, under which immigration is at present regulated, appears to

CHART 2: TOTAL IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, BY MONTHS, 1908–1923

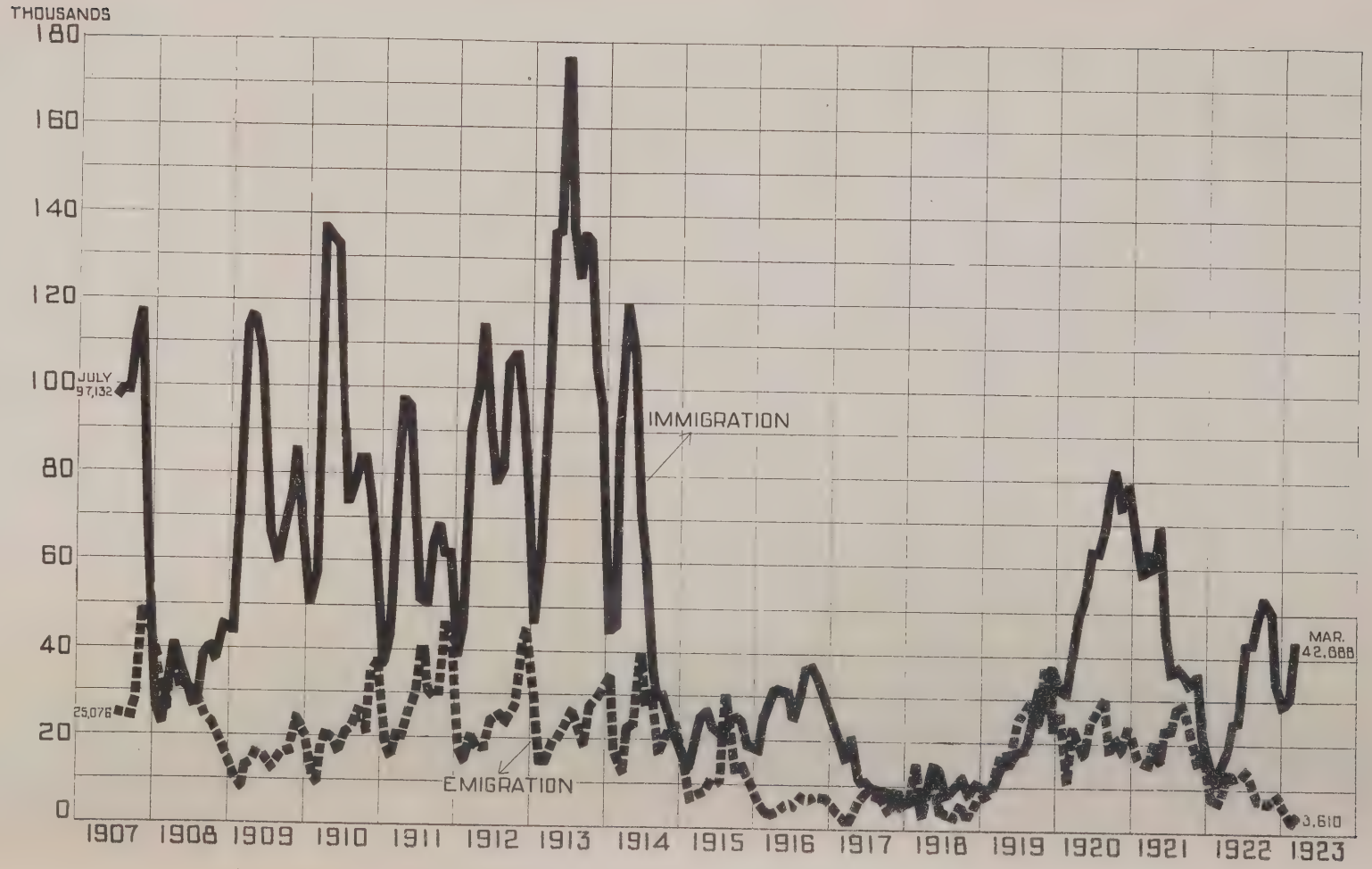
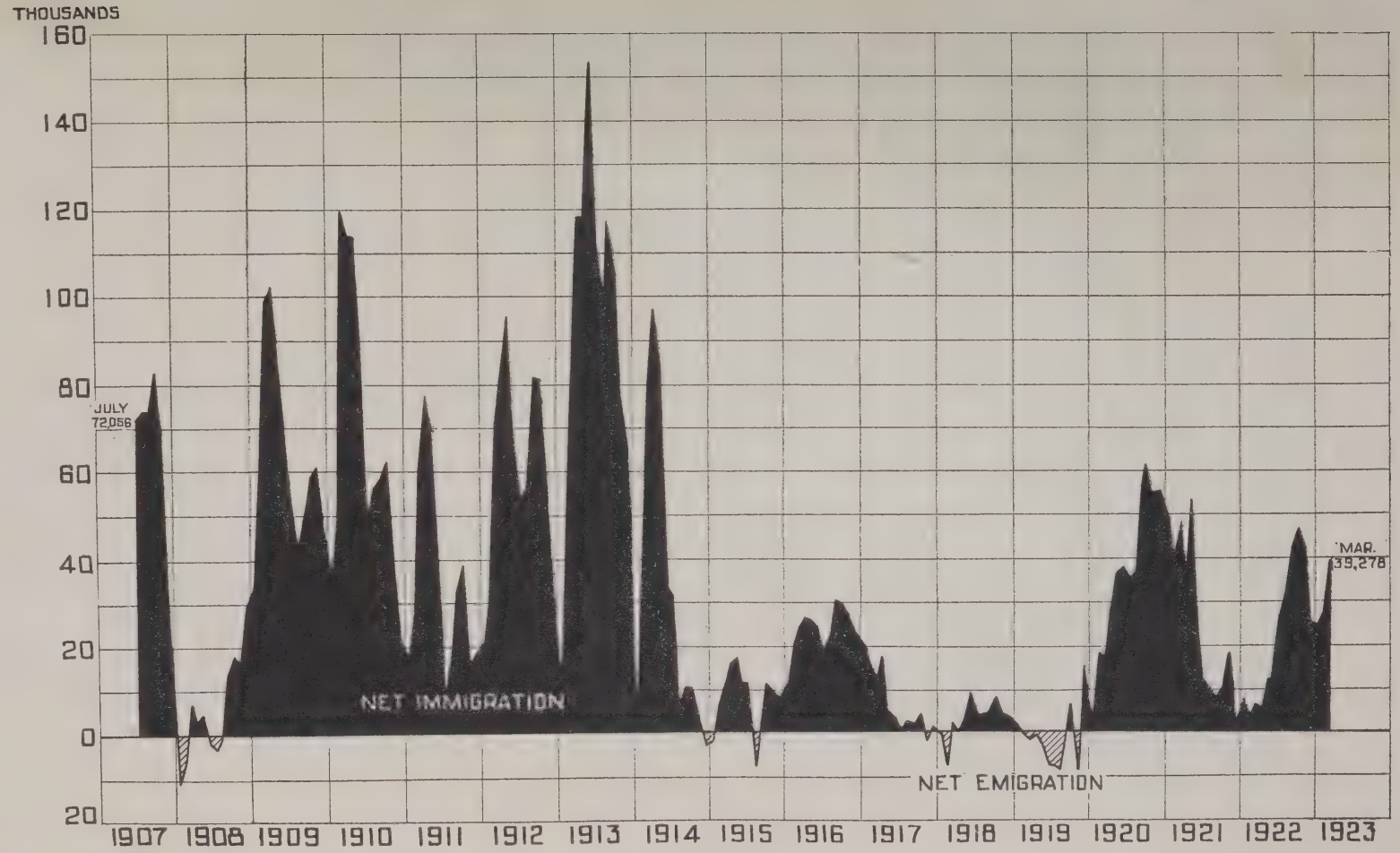


CHART 2A: NET IMMIGRATION OR EMIGRATION, BY MONTHS, 1908-1923



have slightly shifted the seasonal fluctuation. Since the fiscal year runs from July 1, the desire to get into the United States before the quotas are exhausted has resulted in a marked inrush during the early summer, whereas normally immigration has been at its height in the spring.

Figures showing the number of immigrants arriving do not indicate the net increase in population due to immigration, since during the time that large numbers of aliens were coming in, there was also a steady exodus of emigrants. Because statistics of emigration were not kept before 1908, however, a yearly comparison of immigration and emigration is available only since that date. Table 2 compares the number of immigrants admitted annually from 1908 to 1923 with the number who departed during the same period, and shows also the net immigration for the years given. Charts 2 and 2A show the monthly fluctuation in immigration and emigration since 1908.

TABLE 2: IMMIGRATION, EMIGRATION AND NET IMMIGRATION, FISCAL YEARS 1908–1923*

Fiscal year	Immigrants admitted	Emigrants departed	Net immigration
1908	782,870	395,073	387,797
1909	751,786	225,802	525,984
1910	1,041,570	202,436	839,134
1911	878,587	295,666	582,921
1912	838,172	333,262	504,910
1913	1,197,892	308,190	889,702
1914	1,218,480	303,338	915,142
1915	326,700	204,074	122,626
1916	298,826	129,765	169,061
1917	295,403	66,277	229,126
1918	110,618	94,585	16,033
1919	141,132	123,522	17,610
1920	430,001	288,315	141,686
1921	805,228	247,718	557,510
1922	309,556	198,712	110,844
1923[a]	373,511	65,775	307,736
Total	9,800,332	3,482,510	6,317,822

*Source: U. S. Bureau of Immigration. Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1922, p. 109; and monthly releases, 1923.
[a]Nine months ending March 31, 1923.

Emigration tends to move both cyclically and seasonally in an opposite direction from immigration. It shows a low rate in the spring and a high rate in the last quarter of the year. This seasonal exodus, like the inward movement, is due to economic influences and closely follows the seasonal fluctua-

tions in industry. Employment in unskilled occupations is at a high level from late spring until early fall, during which period, in addition to factory employment, there are also numerous opportunities for outdoor work on the farms, on roads and public works, and in the building and construction industries. The laborers most affected are the unskilled who are engaged in outdoor work. Like "birds of passage," they leave in large numbers for their native countries on the approach of inclement weather, when they are faced with the prospect of unemployment. This seasonal movement is especially marked in the emigration from the United States to southern and eastern European countries, where winter is the time most favorable for outdoor work.

Changes in Nationalities from 1820 to 1923

In addition to the change in numbers due to the cyclical and seasonal movements in immigration, a no less significant change is to be noted in the racial composition of the immigration to the United States during the period from 1820 to 1923. From 1820 to 1880 the countries sending the largest number of immigrants were those in northern and western Europe, particularly Germany, England, Ireland and the Scandinavian countries. Since 1880 the people from southern, central and eastern Europe have been the most important factor in the immigration movement. For this reason, the immigration from northern and western Europe is commonly referred to as the "old" immigration, whereas that from the southern and eastern European countries is commonly referred to as the "new" immigration. Examination of the figures for immigration from these two regions shows in successive decades a steady proportional increase of the new immigration in comparison with the old.

Table 3 and Chart 3 show the changes that have taken place in the relative numbers of immigrants that have come from the old and new sources since 1861.

It will be seen from the table and chart that prior to 1890 the old immigration made up the major part of the total immigration from Europe. From the decade 1881–1890 to the decade 1911–1920 the new immigration increased from less than one-fifth to over three-quarters of the total from Europe. The sudden increase in the proportion of old immigration in

TABLE 3: OLD AND NEW EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION, 1861–1923*

Period (Fiscal years)	Number of persons			Per cent of total European immigration	
	Total from Europe[a]	Old sources[b]	New sources[c]	Old[b]	New[c]
1861–1870 (yearly average)....	206,441	203,164	3,277	98.4	1.6
1871–1880 (yearly average)....	226,198	207,038	19,160	91.5	8.5
1881–1890 (yearly average)....	472,382	377,863	94,519	80.0	20.0
1891–1900 (yearly average)....	372,986	178,940	194,046	48.0	52.0
1901–1910 (yearly average)....	821,341	191,004	630,337	23.3	76.7
1911–1920 (yearly average)....	445,595	99,744	345,851	22.4	77.6
1921–22 (annual total)	218,383	79,437	138,946	36.4	63.6
1921–22 (first 9 months).....	181,492	56,365	125,127	31.1	68.9
1922–23 (first 9 months).....	249,147	101,439	147,708	40.7	59.3

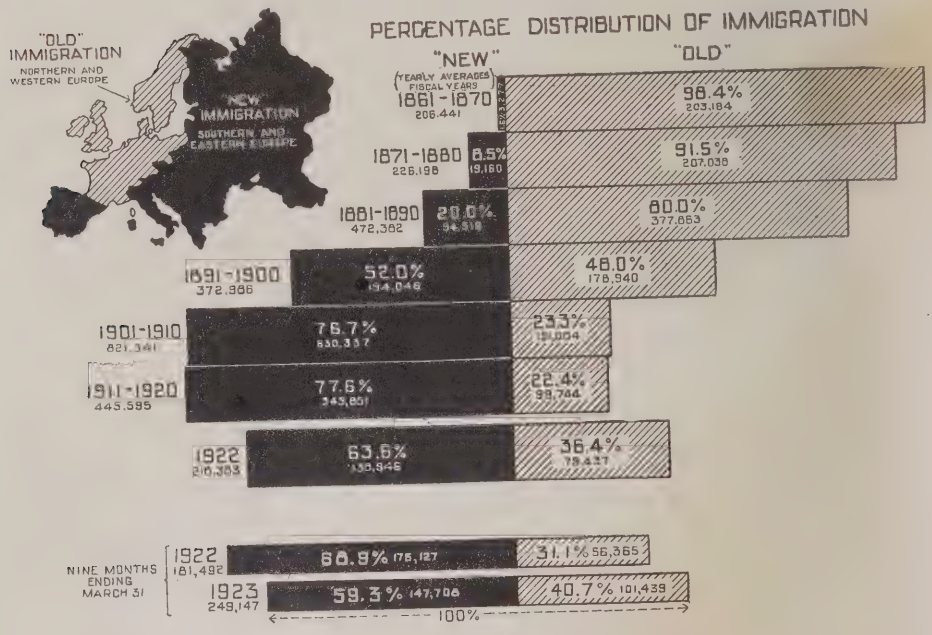
*Source: U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and Bureau of Immigration. Compiled from "Statistical Abstract of the United States," 1921, p. 104, and Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration.

[a]Including Turkey in Asia.

[b]The "old" sources include Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

[c]The "new" sources include the countries now known as Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, Finland, Greece, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Russia, Spain, Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia, and a group of smaller entities classified as "other Europe."

CHART 3: OLD AND NEW EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION, 1861–1923



the fiscal year 1921–22 was largely the result of the Per Centum Limit Act of May 19, 1921, which operated to restrict artificially the immigration from southern and eastern Europe. This tendency to increase the proportion of northern and western Europeans was again emphasized during the first nine months of the fiscal year 1922–23. From July 1, 1922, up to March 31, 1923, however, only 40.7% of the European immigrants had come from this source.

Immigration from the European countries at ten-year intervals since 1850 is shown in Table 4. Each country is ranked according to the number of arrivals. Italy, which ranked tenth in 1850, sent the largest number of immigrants in 1922. Germany, which ranked first in 1860, 1870, 1880 and 1890, was twenty-third in rank in 1920 and fifth in 1922. Poland, which held next to the lowest rank in 1850, took second place in 1922.

Inasmuch as emigration figures are not available prior to 1908, it is impossible to measure exactly what the trend in old and new emigration was before that time. Examination of the official figures shows that since 1908 emigration, as measured against immigration, has been relatively greater among southern and eastern European peoples than among the northern and western group.[1] This is clearly indicated in Table A in the Appendix, from which it is seen that southern Italian emigration from 1908 to 1922 was 948,725, while the immigration during the same period was 1,685,127. In other words, for every two southern Italian immigrants arriving, one emigrant departed. A similar condition is shown for Polish emigration. For every five Poles entering between 1908 and 1922, two departed. On the other hand, for every five Germans admitted, only one left.

Chart 4 shows the average net immigration for certain races during the period between 1908 and 1922 and during the year 1921–22. One of the most significant changes has taken place in the Italian movement, which was suddenly turned from a large annual net immigration to a net emigration in 1921–22. A similar situation arose in the case of several other nationalities, due to the operation of the Per Centum Limit Act of May 19, 1921.

The effect of the change in the racial character of immigration and emigration on the population of the United States reveals itself in an analysis of the racial elements in the foreign

[1]This does not apply to Hebrews, who show an exceptionally low emigration.

TABLE 4: RANK OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES BY NUMBERS OF IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING IN GIVEN YEARS*

(Figures in bold face type are those of the five countries with largest numbers in each fiscal year)

European countries	1850[a] (15 months)		1860[a]		1870[a]		1880[a]		1890[a]		1900[a]		1910[a]		1920[a]		1922[a]	
	Rank	Numbers	Rank	Numbers	Rank	Numbers	Rank	Numbers	Rank	Numbers	Rank	Numbers	Rank	Numbers	Rank	Numbers	Rank	Numbers
Belgium	7	1,080	17	53	15	1,002	15	1,232	15	2,671	16	1,196	16	5,402	9	6,574	20	1,541
Denmark	16	20	11	542	9	4,083	9	6,576	11	9,366	12	2,926	15	6,984	16	3,137	16	2,709
France	**4**	**9,381**	**5**	**3,961**	10	4,009	12	4,314	13	6,585	14	1,739	14	7,383	8	8,945	13	4,220
Germany	**2**	**78,896**	**1**	**54,491**	**1**	**118,225**	**1**	**84,638**	**1**	**92,427**	6	18,507	**5**	**31,283**	23	1,001	**5**	**17,931**
Netherlands	9	684	12	351	13	1,066	13	3,340	14	4,326	15	1,735	13	7,534	11	5,187	17	1,990
Norway	6[b]	1,569[b]	13[b]	298[b]	6	13,216	**5**	**19,895**	9	11,370	8	9,575	11	17,538	13	4,445	12	5,292
Sweden	[b]	[b]	[b]	[b]	**5**	**13,443**	**4**	**39,186**	7	29,632	**5**	**18,650**	8	23,745	10	5,862	10	6,624
Switzerland	13	325	9[b]	913	11	3,075	10	6,156	12	6,993	17	1,152	18	3,533	14	3,785	15	3,398
United Kingdom																		
England	**5**	**6,797**	**4**	**13,001**	**2**	**60,957**	**3**	**59,454**	**2**	**57,020**	7	9,951	**4**	**46,706**	**2**	**27,871**	6	15,249
Ireland	**1**	**164,004**	**2**	**48,637**	**3**	**56,996**	**2**	**71,603**	**4**	**53,024**	**4**	**35,730**	6	29,855	6	9,591	7	10,579
Scotland	8	860	6	1,613	7	12,521	7	12,640	8	12,041	13	1,792	9	20,115	7	9,347	9	9,018
Wales	14	242	10	610	14	1,011	16	1,173	18	650	18	764	21	2,120	22	1,253	.	886
Not specified	**3**	**43,186**	**3**	**14,513**	**4**	**29,188**	23	6	23	19	22	2	.	.	.	.	.	.
Austria-Hungary	.	.	.	.	8	4,425	6	17,267	**3**	**56,199**	**1**	**114,847**	**1**	**258,737**	15[d]	3,778[d]	**3**[d]	**23,316**[d]
Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	21	108	17	4,737	17	1,978	11[e]	6,344[e]
Greece	19	2	19	1	20	22	21	23	19	524	11	3,771	7	25,888	**5**	**11,981**	14	3,457
Italy	10	431	7	1,019	12	2,891	8	12,354	**5**	**52,003**	**2**	**100,135**	**2**	**215,537**	**1**	**95,145**	**1**	**40,319**
Poland	18	5	15	82	19	223	14	2,177	10	11,073	[c]	[c]	[c]	[c]	12	4,813	2	**28,635**
Portugal	12	366	14	122	17	697	17	808	16	2,600	10	4,234	12	8,229	**4**	**15,472**	18	1,950
Rumania	.	.	.	.	.	.	22	11	20	517	9	6,459	20	2,145	19	1,890	8	10,287
Russia	15	31	16	65	16	907	11	5,014	6	35,598	**3**	**90,787**	**3**	**186,792**	20[f]	1,751[f]	4[f]	**19,910**[f]
Spain	11	429	8	932	18	663	19	389	17	813	19	355	19	3,472	**3**	**18,821**	21	665
Turkey in Europe	17	15	18	4	21	6	20	24	21	206	20	285	10	18,405	18	1,933	19	1,660
Other Europe	.	.	19	1	.	.	18	411	22	23	.	.	22	151	21	1,735	22	405
Total European	.	308,323	.	141,209	.	328,626	.	348,691	.	445,680	.	424,700	.	926,291	.	246,295	.	216,385

*Source: Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. 3, pp. 24 ff.; U. S. Bureau of Immigration. Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1922, pp. 100 ff.

[a] 1850 and 1860 alien passengers arriving; 1870 to 1900 immigrants arriving; 1910, 1920 and 1922 alien immigrants admitted.

[b] Sweden included with Norway.

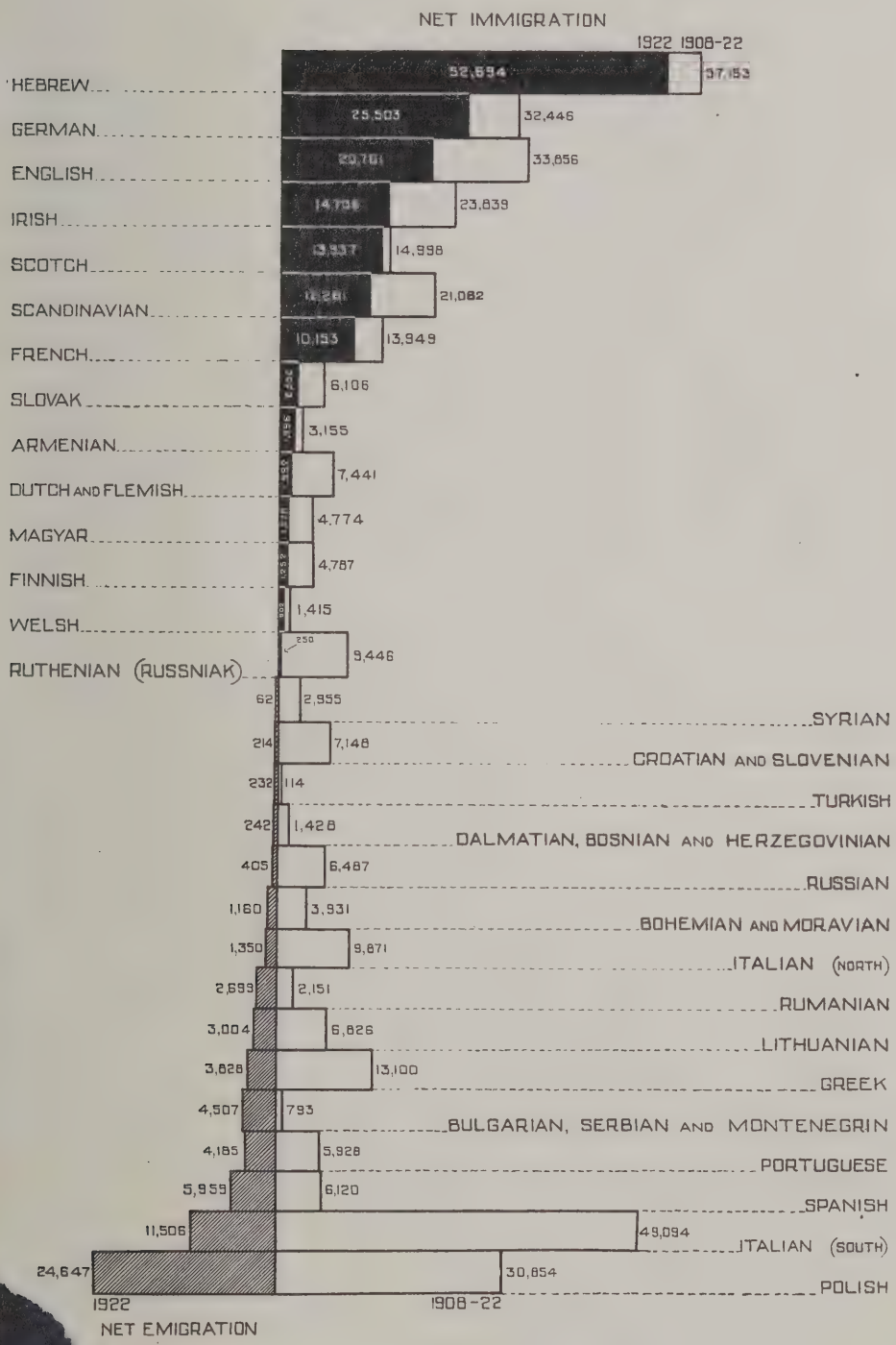
[c] Included under Austria-Hungary, Germany and Russia.

[d] Includes Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia.

[e] Includes Bulgaria and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

[f] Includes Russia and Finland.

CHART 4: NET IMMIGRATION, BY RACES, FISCAL YEAR 1922 AND ANNUAL AVERAGE 1908–1922



born population on the basis of the decennial censuses of the United States. Taking only European nationals into account, according to the Census of 1890, 78% of the total foreign born population in the United States was of the old immigration and 9% was of the new. In 1920, but 40% of the total foreign born population was of the old immigration and 46% was of the new. In 1890, the Germans constituted 30% of the total foreign born and in 1920, 12%; in the same years the Irish constituted 20% and 7% respectively. The Italians, who made up only 2% of the foreign born population in the United States in 1890, in 1920 constituted almost 12%.[1]

The percentage of the total population of the United States which each foreign born group represented at the last four census periods is given in Table 5.

The reasons for the change in the racial composition of immigration to the United States are best understood after an examination of the causes of European emigration to the United States.

Causes of European Emigration to the United States

This large movement of populations of varying races to the United States has been the result of diverse and changing factors both in this country and abroad. In general, however, it is the most striking instance in modern times of the great shiftings of the world's populations that have been going on throughout history, due frequently to forces that must remain obscure in character, but that represent generally a response to a universal human tendency to seek better conditions of life, to move from the familiar to another, even though unfamiliar, place where the struggle for existence promises to be less intense and the satisfactions greater. So far as the specific causes of emigration to the United States can be analyzed, they fall into four main groups: economic, political, social and religious. In addition, artificial stimulation has at various times been an important factor.

Economic Causes

Dissatisfaction with economic conditions at home has undoubtedly been the major influence in inducing emig[ration] from Europe. Agriculture occupied the majority of

[1]U. S. Bureau of the Census. "Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1[920]," p. 695.

TABLE 5: NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOREIGN BORN IN TOTAL POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, 1890–1920*

Country of birth	1890		1900		1910		1920	
	Number	Per cent of total population	Number	Per cent of total population	Number	Per cent of total population	Number	Per cent of total population
Northern and western Europe								
United Kingdom	3,122,911	4.96	2,783,082	3.66	2,573,534	2.80	2,172,723	2.06
Germany	2,784,894	4.42	2,663,418	3.50	2,311,237[a]	2.51	1,686,108	1.59
Scandinavia	933,249	1.48	1,072,092	1.41	1,250,733	1.36	1,178,602	1.11
France	113,174	.18	104,197	.14	117,418	.13	153,072	.15
Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, Switzerland	211,418	.34	243,312	.32	297,382	.32	325,697	.31
Total	7,165,646	11.38	6,866,101	9.04	6,550,304	7.12	5,516,202	5.22
Southern and eastern Europe								
Portugal and Spain	22,181	.04	37,658	.05	81,468	.09	119,516	.11
Italy	182,580	.29	484,027	.64	1,343,125	1.46	1,610,113	1.52
Russia and Finland	182,644	.29	486,367	.64	1,314,092[a]	1.43	1,685,387	1.59
Austria-Hungary	303,812	.48	578,512	.76	1,341,164[a]	1.46	1,504,787[b]	1.42
Poland	147,440	.23	383,407	.50	937,884[a]	1.02	1,139,979	1.08
All other countries in southern and eastern Europe	16,305	.03	35,708	.05	223,804	.24	306,069	.29
Total	854,962	1.36	2,005,679	2.64	5,241,537	5.70	6,365,851	6.02
North and South America	1,088,245	1.73	1,317,380	1.73	1,489,231	1.62	1,727,017	1.63
Grand total[c]	9,249,560	14.69	10,341,276	13.61	13,515,886	14.70	13,920,692	13.17

*Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. "Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920," Vol. 2, p. 695. (Preliminary release)

[a]Persons reported in 1910 as of Polish mother tongue born in Germany, Austria and Russia have been deducted from these countries and combined under Poland for comparison, as the 1910 Census did not enumerate Poland as a separate entity.

[b]Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia included in Austria-Hungary in 1920.

[c]Asia and all other countries not specified included in grand total.

pean workers in the early nineteenth century. The system of land tenure, as well as the diminishing amount of available land in comparison with the growth of population, however, made land ownership for most of them difficult, if not impossible. In view of this fact, the European peasant turned naturally to the United States, where farm land could be taken up under the homestead acts or could be purchased cheaply. It was chiefly the peasantry of northern and western Europe who took advantage of this opportunity during this period. This was due to the fact that the majority of the early colonists had come from these regions of Europe and that their contact with relatives, friends and others fostered a steady interest in the opportunities in America. An increasing immigration during the nineteenth century resulted in the present Swedish settlements in Minnesota and Illinois, the German settlements in Wisconsin and Illinois and in the settlement of scattered groups of foreign descent throughout the Middle West.

The gradual limitation of the supply of free land in the United States and changed economic conditions in all the countries of northern Europe combined to check immigration from that source after 1880. Emigration from Ireland, which had greatly increased, following the potato famine of 1845, tended to decrease with the passage of the land laws in Ireland in the latter part of the nineteenth century. These laws facilitated land tenure by the peasantry and held forth the possibility of farm ownership in a way that had not previously existed. Emigration from the United Kingdom was further lessened as a result of the development of the British colonies in Australia, Canada and New Zealand.[1] The continued policy of directing British emigration to these colonies resulted in a steady diminution in the proportion going to the United States. By 1913 only 94,700 out of a total of 389,400 British emigrants came to the United States.

On the other hand, the decrease in the numbers coming to the United States from Germany was due to a generally lessened Teutonic emigration after 1870, rather than to a diversion of that emigration from the United States. This decrease resulted, in the main, from the growth of German industry after the Franco-Prussian War. Furthermore, social and industrial legislation, enacted under Bismarck's ministry, tended

[1]The marked increase in the population of Canada and Australia dates from approximately the middle of the nineteenth century; that of New Zealand dates from about 1860.

to reduce the discontent of the laboring classes at home so that the incentive to emigration was diminished. Denmark also, alarmed at the loss of population by emigration, took steps to better the condition of the peasantry and was so successful that emigration from that country was greatly reduced.[1]

Economic conditions in southern Europe were a less impelling force to emigration than those in northern Europe. The peasants of southern and eastern Europe did not respond to the agricultural opportunities in the United States which had stimulated emigration from the northern European countries, and did not begin to emigrate in large numbers until after 1880.[2] Their movement was actuated by the same general desire for greater economic advantages which had motivated the earlier movement from the northern countries. Italy, Russia and Austria-Hungary, the countries from which the largest numbers of immigrants have come since 1890, experienced no such industrial growth as did the United Kingdom and Germany. Their increasing population, therefore, found no opportunities at home which compared with those offered in the industries of the United States. Moreover, the industrial development of the United States, which by 1900 had begun to assume an important place in the world's commerce, created an unprecedented demand for workers adapted to industrial occupations.

The post-war situation in Europe has strengthened the necessity for emigration, in these southern and eastern European countries particularly. The old Austria-Hungary is dismembered in such a way as to leave Austria without self-sufficient industries or sources of raw materials. Russia, never a great industrial country, has not yet recovered from the effects of the war and the revolution. Italy, lacking such basic raw materials as fuel and metals, which are essential to manufacturing development, has always had great difficulty in supporting her rapidly increasing population. In addition, the attraction of a high money wage continues to make the United States a desirable destination for the southern and eastern emigrants.

Political, Social and Religious Causes

Political, social and religious conditions in Europe have served at times to increase emigration to the United States,

[1]Warne, F. J. "The Immigrant Invasion." Dodd Mead & Co., New York, 1913, p. 224; see also *ibid.*, pp. 226, 227, 233.
[2]See Table 3, p. 12.

but have generally been no more than secondary causes. The two nationalities which have been most affected by political conditions are probably the Irish and the Germans. The former, dissatisfied with British rule, have been inclined to leave their native country when conditions elsewhere attracted them. The Germans came in especially large numbers after the revolution of 1848. A revolution in Macedonia in 1904 drove many Bulgarians out of that country. The Franco-Prussian, Turko-Grecian and Russo-Japanese wars were followed by increased emigration.[1] A desire to escape military service has also undoubtedly served as a motive for emigration from certain European countries.

The social factors in emigration are much more subtle but nevertheless have exerted considerable influence on the movement of populations. The comparative lack of social strata in the United States, the opportunities offered for free public education, the emphasis that has continuously been laid on chances for individual development in America, have each exerted a powerful influence on the more ambitious in other countries. In addition, letters from friends and relatives, telling of their own advancement in the United States or of the opportunities and high wages prevalent, have frequently influenced others to emigrate from their native countries.

The religious discriminations against Jews in certain countries of Europe and against Christians in Turkey are closely bound to political and social discriminations, and have been contributory causes of emigration. In the period from 1908 to 1922, Hebrew immigration was second only to the southern Italian.[2] From 1899 to 1914, 23.2% of all the immigration from Austria-Hungary, Rumania and Russia was Hebrew.[3]

Artificial Stimulation

In addition to the causes already mentioned, artificial stimulation of immigration has been an influence the results of which are difficult to determine. This stimulation has usually taken the form of consciously directed publicity picturing the United States as a sort of wonderland. Magazine and newspaper articles, efforts of industries to attract labor, advertisements of

[1]Immigration to the United States from France in 1869 was 3,879 and in 1873, 14,798. Immigration from Russia in 1903 was 136,093 and in 1906, 215,665.

[2]The *net* Hebrew immigration from 1908 to 1922 exceeded that of all other races. It should be noted, however, that "Hebrews" includes peoples from both northern and southern European countries, whereas other races are classified according to the country from which they come.

[3]Immigration statistics by race date from 1899.

steamship companies and stories of their sub-ticket agents have all induced a certain amount of immigration. The report of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration for 1908 states: "It has been shown by overwhelming testimony that one of the chief inducements to immigration has been the efforts of money-lenders and sub-ticket agents in Europe."[1] The provisions embodied in the immigration law of 1917 and in earlier laws prohibiting the entrance of aliens under certain forms of labor contract or influenced to come to the United States by advertisements and in other ways, have tended to reduce somewhat the effect of these types of artificial stimulation of immigration.

Characteristics of the Old and New Immigration

The old and new immigration differ not only in the period at which they predominated, the countries from which they came, and the factors most influential in their coming, but in other ways also.

Politically, the two groups have a different history. While Germany, Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries were limited monarchies during the period when their largest emigration to the United States took place, they afforded a background of tradition similar to that in this country and their nationals showed an interest in or familiarity with democratic government. The new immigration has come from countries where the governments are either frankly autocratic or where the population is largely illiterate. While immigrants from these latter countries in some cases come to the United States because of the difference in government here, to the majority life under democratic institutions is a new experience.

A further dissimilarity between the two types of immigration is apparent in the sex distribution in each group. Males made up 58.2% of all the northern and western Europeans immigrating from 1899[2] to 1914, 54.6% from 1915 to 1919, 52.5% in 1920, 51.2% in 1921 and 47.2% in 1922. On the other hand, the southern and eastern European immigration showed 71.7% males in the period from 1899 to 1914, 64.0% from 1915 to 1919, 88.8% in 1920, 57.3% in 1921 and

[1]U. S. Department of Labor. Commissioner General of Immigration. Annual Report. Washington, D. C., 1908, p. 120.

[2]Immigration figures by race are not given prior to 1899.

47% in 1922.[1] The groups of which the immigration was chiefly male are those from the Balkan states, and from Italy and Russia.

Finally, there is a marked distinction between the religious faiths of the two groups. The Scandinavian, English, Scotch and German immigrants were mainly Protestant. The Irish were, for the most part, Roman Catholics. The new immigrants are largely either Greek or Roman Catholic, or Jewish.

Because of its preponderance in the total as well as its different characteristics, it is chiefly the new immigration which concerns the United States in relation to the problems of adaptation and assimilation which immigration has raised. These problems are briefly outlined in the next chapter.

Summary

In response to the general forces which make for world movements of population, and to special, permanent or temporary differences in economic, social, political and religious conditions between the United States and foreign countries, a vast migration of population from Europe to the United States has taken place in the hundred and forty-seven years of her history as a nation, growing from 8,385 in the year 1820 to over a million and a quarter in the year 1907, and fluctuating with business conditions from year to year and with the seasons each year. At the same time, in recent years there has been an increasing stream of emigration varying also with business and seasonal conditions. From 1820 to 1880 the stream of immigration was composed largely of northern and western European types. Since then, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, differing widely from the earlier types in background, religion, sex distribution and racial traits, have predominated. This increasing and changing tide of aliens has made great changes in the racial composition of the American population and raised important social, economic and political problems.

[1]Compiled from the Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration. The proportions in 1921 and 1922 are influenced by the Per Centum Limit Act.

II

THE RELATION OF IMMIGRATION TO THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

In considering the social, economic and political problems in the American community that have been created by the changing tide of immigration, the outstanding fact to be borne in mind is that the relationship of the immigrant to the community is two-sided. On the one hand stands the individual with certain physical and mental characteristics, the product of a definite racial and social heredity, brought by varied and complex motives into a widely different social environment. On the other hand stands an integrated fabric of social, economic and political institutions and a community with a psychology and traditions developed out of one hundred and forty-seven years of national life, distant from European influence and yet affected in many ways by the steady admixture of foreign bloods. The contact of the individual with this set of institutions necessitates a mutual adjustment. On the failure or success of this adjustment depends the seriousness of the immigration problem in any community.

This mutual adjustment has two broad aspects which, while not always clearly separable, usually arise in any discussion of the immigrant's relation to the community: first, the adjustment between the immigrant and our economic life, and second, the adjustment between the immigrant and our social and political life. The overlapping of these two phases of his adjustment is everywhere evident. In industry, for instance, the immigrant's wages are influenced by the living standards of his community, and likewise many of the social problems of the immigrant arise from his economic position.

The intermingling of the economic and social aspects is first seen in the motives that bring the immigrant here and that influence the direction which his assimilation takes. It is true that the economic motive plays a large part in causing immigrants to leave their homes. Just as every trader attempts to buy in the lowest market and to sell in the highest, so immigrants are drawn to this country when they find that their labor will

command a higher return here. Sometimes, however, immigration has sprung from more fundamental social and economic maladjustment. Thus, burdensome taxes, failure of crops, disease, inability to secure sufficient employment for adequate individual or family maintenance, low productivity arising from inefficient methods and tools, laborious toil that has put the individual not much above the beast of burden, and onerous political, religious and social conditions of various kinds have driven immigrants away from their native lands to seek their fortunes in the United States. It may be noted further that where immigration has sprung from unsatisfactory conditions which have pressed heavily on a large part of the people, it has been the safety valve for the despair that might otherwise have resulted in revolution. This, for example, is said to be the case in southern Italy.[1] On the other hand, many immigrants not burdened by intolerable economic conditions but rather buoyed up by the hope of improving their lot, have freely chosen to seek their fortunes in the United States. In general, it may be said that immigrants leave their homes in Europe because they expect to find in America greater opportunity for individual development, in the widest sense, including not only economic advantages, but social and cultural ones as well. From this point of view it is easily seen that any overemphasis of the economic motive and value of immigration may tend to ignore desirable social and cultural impulses in the immigrant and to contribute to the very social maladjustments which form so large a part of the immigration problem.

Whatever the immediate incentives to immigration, they are reflected in the attitude of the immigrants arriving here, and account must be taken of them when the problem of assimilation is faced. Men whose primary desire is to build a home where there is opportunity for a larger outlook and a share in that progress that comes to the more skilled and better educated, will react differently toward their new environment than will those of the "bird-of-passage" type who come here for a temporary sojourn, during which their aim is to earn and save all they can in order to take up life again in their old surroundings. The former look upon the United States with the attitude of those who have a stake in it; the latter regard it selfishly as a utility from which they are determined to get the maximum

[1]Foerster, Robert F. "The Italian Emigration of Our Times." Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1919, pp. 101-102.

advantage while they can. The man who comes to escape intolerable conditions abroad may, however, be so grateful for the relief he finds that he is willing to accept accompanying poor conditions of life here. On the other hand, he may have become so bitter and cynical regarding all government because of his experiences abroad that he may regard even the smallest injustice suffered in America as sufficient ground for anti-social-agitation.

No generalizations, therefore, can be drawn as to the value or effects of the motives of immigrants. Immigrants are not mere economic automatons. They are human beings reflecting the influences of heredity, education, training and environment. In leaving their native countries for the United States they sever their contact with a social group within which they have been born, to enter a new society with which they do not have the tie of kinship, and whose language, customs and institutions they do not as a rule understand. They therefore face the necessity of accommodating themselves to entirely new conditions, frequently at an age when it is difficult to overcome old habits or to assimilate new ideas. Differences in language, cultural background and social custom make the immigrants from each country a distinct group, unlike either the native Americans or the immigrants from any other country. Each group presents its own problems, varying in intensity with the degree of its difference from the American type. The successful adjustment of these human differences depends not only on the modification or elimination of the immigrant traits which are undesirable from the point of view of American social welfare, but as well upon the preservation and development of those native qualities in the immigrant which may make for the improvement of American social life.

The Economic Aspects of Immigration

There is no question but that immigration has had an important effect on American economic life. Industry has depended upon the immigrant and industrial development has been stimulated or assisted by immigration. It is no less true that immigration has been stimulated by American industrial growth and that the immigrant has been dependent upon and greatly influenced by industry and the trend of its development. The immigrant population is essentially a working population,

for the most part attracted by working opportunities here and quickly drawn into industrial occupations. It has contributed to the industrial expansion not only by virtue of being a large labor supply, more or less mobile, but by increasing the demand for goods. At the same time, it has influenced by its social characteristics the distribution of industrial activity throughout the country and, in part, the working conditions within industry. The distribution and social problems of the immigrant have in turn been affected by industry. The immigrant in industry has, therefore, raised questions primarily of economic character, but the effect of our industrial organization on the immigrant involves many questions of social importance.

The extent to which the immigrants are a working group is indicated by the following facts: The Census of Occupations of the United States shows that in 1920 fifty in every one hundred persons ten years of age and over, living in the United States, were engaged in some gainful occupation; among the foreign born whites, fifty-seven in every hundred in this age group were gainfully occupied. The proportion of the population gainfully occupied is shown in Table 6, where the figures are given for each class of population, by sex.

TABLE 6: PROPORTION OF PERSONS GAINFULLY OCCUPIED, BY SEX AND POPULATION CLASSES, 1920 AND 1910*

Class of population	Per cent of population 10 years of age and over in gainful occupations					
	1920			1910		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
All classes	50.3	78.2	21.1	53.3	81.3	23.4
Native white—native parentage	46.6	75.1	17.2	48.4	78.5	17.1
Native white—foreign or mixed parentage	49.7	75.2	24.8	50.4	76.5	24.6
Foreign born white	57.4	89.3	18.4	60.3	90.0	21.7
Negro	59.9	81.1	38.9	71.0	87.4	54.7
Other (Japanese, Chinese, Indian, etc.)	53.4	75.4	13.7	61.1	80.8	17.6

*Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. "Abstract of Occupation Statistics," 1920, Washington, 1923, p. 509.

It will be seen from Table 6 that, of all foreign born white males over ten years of age in the United States in 1920, 89.3% were gainfully employed, while among the native born white males of

native parentage 75.1%, and among the male negroes, 81.1%, were so employed. The number of the foreign born employed is somewhat above the proportion which they constitute in the total population. In 1910, for example, the foreign born whites of both sexes constituted 18.1% of the total population ten years of age and over in the United States but they nevertheless represented 20.5% of the total number of persons gainfully occupied.[1] In 1920, the foreign born whites of both sexes constituted 16.3% of the total population ten years of age and over, but represented 18.6% of the total gainfully occupied.[2]

In the twenty years between 1901 and 1920, somewhat over 14,531,000 immigrant aliens of all ages were admitted from Europe, and of this number all but 3,959,000 gave some occupation and were coming ostensibly to work. Of the 10,572,000 who specified their occupation, almost 201,000 were classed as in professional service, 2,196,000 were skilled workers of various kinds and almost 8,175,000 were in miscellaneous occupations, mainly farmers and farm laborers, general laborers and servants.[3] When it is borne in mind that in 1920 the total number of persons gainfully employed in the United States was over 41,614,000 and that in the twenty years, 1901–1920, there were admitted 10,572,000 potential workers through immigration from Europe, an idea can be obtained of the relation of European immigration to industry and to the labor supply.

Geographical and Occupational Distribution of the Foreign Born

Because immigrants as a group are faced with the necessity of finding work immediately, they tend to settle in or be drawn to those sections in which the industries are concentrated and in which chances for employment are greatest. The preference of immigrants for living among their own kind or for certain occupations has also affected their distribution. The population census of the United States shows that, while in 1920 the foreign born whites constituted 13% of the total population, they comprised over one-fourth of the population of the New England States, over one-fifth of the population of the Middle Atlantic States and about one-sixth of that in the East North Central States.[4] Taking the more important industrial states, it is

[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census. "Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910." Vol. IV, p. 64.
[2] "Abstract of Occupation Statistics, 1920," Washington, 1923, p. 509.
[3] U. S. Reports of the Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 176-178; also U. S. Bureau of Immigration. Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration.
[4] "Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920," Vol. III, p. 34.

found that in 1920 the ratio of the foreign born whites to the total population was: in Rhode Island, 28.7%; Massachusetts, 28.0%; Connecticut, 27.3%; New York, 26.8%; New Jersey, 23.4%; New Hampshire, 20.6%; Minnesota, 20.4%; North Dakota, 20.3%; Michigan, 19.8%; Illinois, 18.6%; Wisconsin, 17.5%.[1]

Of all the foreign born whites in the United States in 1920, 35.8% were living in the Middle Atlantic States (New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania) and 23.5% in the East North Central States (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin).[2] Thus approximately three-fifths of all the foreign born in the United States were located in eight important manufacturing states.

Factories which offer the greatest opportunity of employment to wage workers are concentrated in urban centers, and immigrants tend to settle in these centers. In consequence, they are most numerous in important industrial cities. In 1900, 66% of all foreign born white persons in the United States were living in cities of over 2,500 population; in 1910, the percentage was 71.4, and in 1920 it had mounted to 75.5.[3]

It may be noted further that there is a marked tendency of the foreign born to concentrate in the larger cities and that this tendency has been steadily increasing. The foreign born whites in the cities listed as having a total population of 100,000 or over in 1920 represented 47.72% of all the foreign born whites enumerated in that year. The number of foreign born whites in the same cities in 1910 represented 45.15% of all foreign born whites enumerated in 1910.[4] The Census of 1920 shows that the first ten cities in order of proportion of foreign born to their total population were: New Bedford, Mass. (40.2%); New York, N. Y. (35.4%); Fall River, Mass. (35.1%); Lowell, Mass. (33.7%); Paterson, N. J. (33.2%); Bridgeport, Conn. (32.3%); Boston, Mass. (31.9%); Cleveland, Ohio (30.1%); Chicago, Ill. (29.8%); and Worcester, Mass. (29.7%).[5] These cities are all important industrial centers. They hold out numerous opportunities for quick and remunerative employment and it is largely because of this and because their relatives and com-

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 35-36.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 34 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. III. Compiled from Table 1, p. 15. The percentages of all whites located in urban communities for these periods were: 1900, 42.36%; 1910, 48.18%; 1920, 53.38%.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 40 ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 40-46.

patriots work and live in these same centers that immigrants are drawn there.

In some occupations the foreign born are more prominent numerically than in others. If the major occupational groups alone are considered, it is found that, in 1920, white persons of foreign stock, including both foreign born and native born of foreign or mixed parentage, outnumbered the native whites of native parentage in the manufacturing and mechanical industries in the ratio of about five to four, in the mining and metalliferous industries in the ratio of about twelve to eleven and in domestic and personal service in the ratio of about six to five. On the other hand, the native whites of native parentage in 1920 outnumbered the whites of foreign stock in the ratio of almost three to one in agriculture, six to one in professional occupations, five to four in clerical occupations, about five to four in transportation and in public service, and about ten to nine in wholesale and retail trade.

Table 7 and Chart 5 give the parentage of the persons engaged in the general divisions of occupations in 1920. In the entire group of gainfully occupied persons, 49.3% were native whites of native parentage, 20.1% native whites of foreign or mixed parentage, 18.6% foreign born whites and 12.0% of colored parentage.

On the whole, the aliens appear to be concentrated in those groups of occupations where little skill or technical training is required, where the work is unattractive or where physical strength is a primary qualification.

Economic Characteristics of Immigrants

The geographical and occupational distribution of the immigrants in relation to industry have been influenced by certain characteristics of American industrial processes and development on the one hand and by certain characteristics of the immigrant group on the other.

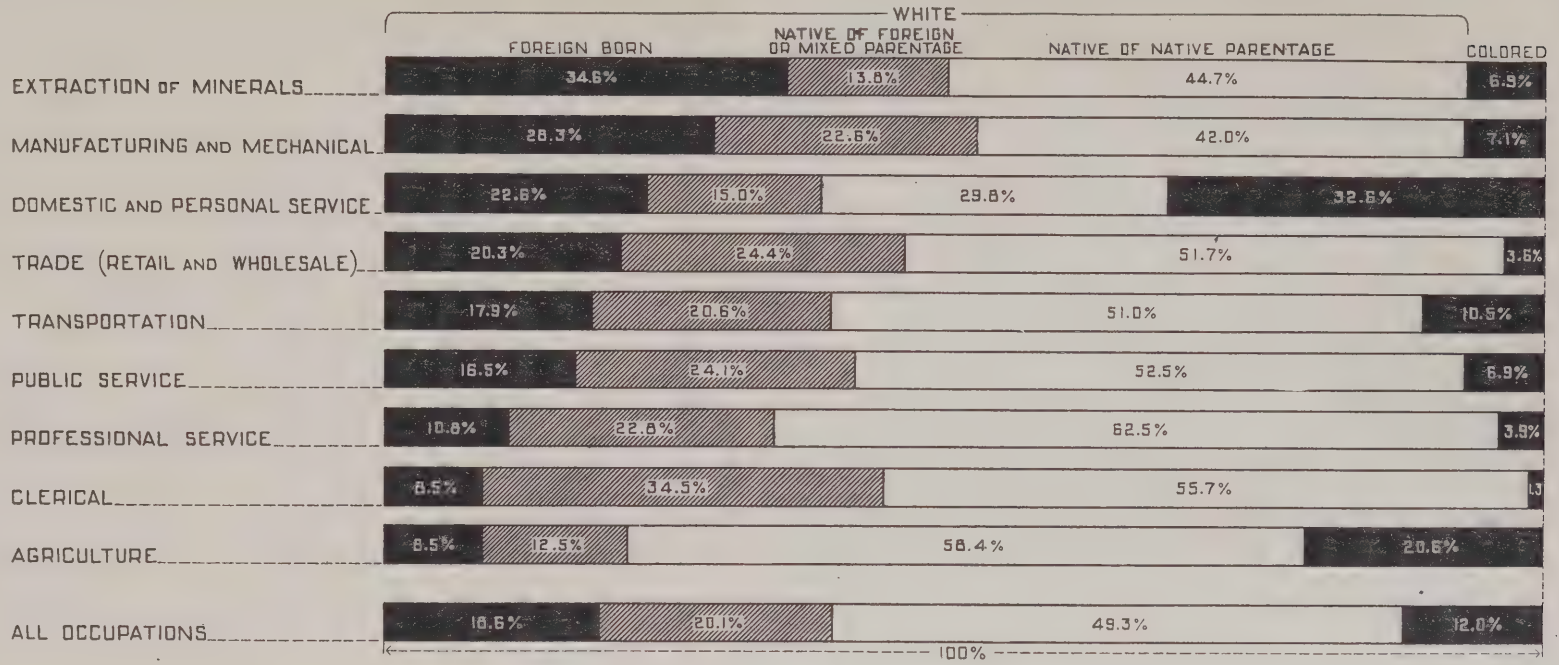
The rapid transition of the United States from an agricultural economy to a manufacturing economy has relatively diminished the opportunity and demand for agricultural labor and increased the demand for unskilled labor to do the more monotonous or rougher work in factories. At the same time, with the ready availability of materials and the rapid growth of large-scale production to meet a rapidly rising demand for

TABLE 7: PARENTAGE OF PERSONS GAINFULLY OCCUPIED IN NINE GENERAL DIVISIONS OF OCCUPATIONS, 1920*

General division of occupations	White						Colored[a]		Total	
	Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage		Foreign born					
	Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total
Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry	6,391,480	58.4	1,374,777	12.5	931,561	8.5	2,255,340	20.6	10,953,158	100.0
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	5,384,332	42.0	2,890,495	22.6	3,634,249	28.3	909,448	7.1	12,818,524	100.0
Extraction of minerals	487,314	44.7	150,620	13.8	377,138	34.6	75,151	6.9	1,090,223	100.0
Transportation	1,562,409	51.0	633,170	20.6	547,613	17.9	320,390	10.5	3,063,582	100.0
Clerical occupations	1,741,307	55.7	1,078,800	34.5	267,177	8.5	39,257	1.3	3,126,541	100.0
Domestic and personal service	1,016,293	29.8	510,637	15.0	769,193	22.6	1,108,769	32.6	3,404,892	100.0
Professional service	1,339,408	62.5	489,682	22.8	231,719	10.8	83,080	3.9	2,143,889	100.0
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	404,627	52.5	185,839	24.1	127,280	16.5	52,714	6.9	770,460	100.0
Trade	2,194,827	51.7	1,033,446	24.4	860,530	20.3	154,176	3.6	4,242,979	100.0
Grand total, all occupations	20,521,997	49.3	8,347,466	20.1	7,746,460	18.6	4,998,325	12.0	41,614,248	100.0

*Source: Compiled from: U. S. Bureau of the Census. "Abstract of Occupation Statistics, 1920." Washington, 1923, pp. 511–512.
[a]Includes Negro, Indian, Chinese, Japanese and "all other" classes of population.

CHART 5: PARENTAGE OF PERSONS GAINFULLY OCCUPIED IN NINE GENERAL DIVISIONS OF OCCUPATIONS, 1920



goods, the improvement and refinement of mechanical processes and the use of more or improved types of power have in some industries lagged behind volume of output. In such instances cheap unskilled labor has been used in large numbers, regardless of its ultimate cost. In some industries also, a policy of restricting output has tended, directly or indirectly, to increase the employment of unskilled immigrant labor and so has retarded the improvement of mechanical processes. On the other hand, some industries, by increasing their use of power and mechanical processes, have reduced the demand for crude labor heretofore largely recruited from among immigrants.

These changes, taking place in a short span of years, have been reflected in the changing relation of immigration to industry. The tide of immigration, as we have seen, has tended to fluctuate with an industrial activity dependent upon immigrant labor, and the northern and western European races of agricultural or craft training and interests have given place in the immigrant tide to the unskilled labor of the southern or eastern European races, upon which the development of American industry has put a premium.

On the other hand, the characteristics of immigrants themselves have influenced these developments in industry in the following general ways:

1. Immigrants constitute a fluid labor supply sensitive to industrial needs.[1] In the past, immigration has been largest when business was expanding, with emigration increasing when business was falling off and the demand for labor was not so great. This has tended to make industry rely upon the fluid labor supply, and has thus retarded the stabilization of production.

2. In a sense, immigrants constitute a picked physical group. The majority are strong, sturdy peasants. Furthermore, immigrants before landing are required to pass a physical examination so that those immigrants with obvious physical or mental defects and those likely to become public charges are for the most part debarred. Immigrants as a group, therefore, have provided the labor force for heavy work requiring energy and endurance,[2] and the mechanization of such work has been correspondingly retarded.

[1]Balch, Emily Greene. "Our Slavic Fellow Citizens." Charities Publication Committee, New York, 1910, pp. 294-296.
[2]Haskin, Frederic J. "The Immigrant." Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, 1913, pp. 123 ff.

3. Most of the immigrants arrive at an age when they can be easily assimilated in industry and when their productive efficiency is likely to be greatest. The census figures for the years 1890, 1900 and 1910 show that about 59% of the foreign born whites were in the age group from 15 to 44 years,[1] while of the native whites of native parentage and the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage, about 46% were in this age group.[2] According to the Census of 1920, 45.5% of the native whites of native parentage were in the age group from 15 to 44 years, while of the foreign born whites 56.4% were so classified.[3]

4. Until the situation was reversed through the operation of the Per Centum Limit Act in 1922, more than one-half of the immigrants were males. This meant that the normal tendency was for men to come in greater numbers than women, thereby providing a group essentially fitted for heavy labor. It is particularly significant that before the war the males noticeably outnumbered the females in the immigration from most of the southern and eastern European countries, whereas the preponderance of male immigrants was less marked among the northern and western Europeans.[4]

5. The immigrants in the United States not only seek out those industries in which opportunities for their employment are most numerous, but also those into which, because of the handicaps of language and lack of money and experience, or because of racial characteristics, they fit most easily.[5] Industry has tended in some respects to accommodate itself to and take advantage of these preferences. Describing the economic motives of the peasant, Thomas and Znaniecki state that

> "...he goes where he can find a ready market for work involving no technical or intellectual preparation, and he is at first satisfied with the wages he can secure for his unskilled labor. Astonishment and regret are often expressed that the peasant shows no decided inclination to become a farmer in America, but undertakes in mines, on railroads, and in steel works forms of labor to which he is totally unaccustomed. But it will be found that the peasant has selected precisely

[1]U. S. Bureau of the Census. "Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910." Vol. I, p. 323.
[2]*Ibid.*, p. 326.
[3]U. S. Bureau of the Census. "Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920." Vol. III, p. 16.
[4]U. S. Bureau of Immigration. Annual reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration.
[5]Balch, Emily G., *op. cit.*, pp. 317 ff; Lord, Eliot, Trenor, John J. D. and Barrows, Samuel J. "The Italian in America," B. F. Buck & Co., New York, 1905, pp. 61–66; Johnson, Stanley C. "A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763–1912." E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1914, pp. 315 ff; Roberts, Peter. "The New Immigration." Macmillan, New York, 1912, pp. 49 ff; Warne, Frank J. "The Immigrant Invasion." Dodd Mead & Co., New York, 1913, pp. 127 ff; Faust, Albert B. "The German Element in the United States," Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1909, Vol. II, pp. 28–121.

the work which suits his purpose, namely, a quick and sure accumulation of cash."[1]

Discussing the reasons why the Italian immigrant has not entered agriculture to a large extent, R. F. Foerster states:

> "It is not enough to point out that the crops and methods that promise well in the United States differ from those of Italy, but it must be recalled that the emigrating classes are highly deficient in an understanding of technique—of machines, fertilizer, rotation. From being farm laborers in old agricultural Italy, the transition is far easier to digging sewers in America than to independent farming.

He adds that the South Italians, who constitute the bulk of Italian immigration, are not so well fitted for general and diversified farming as the North Italians. This description of the position of the Italian in farming seems to apply generally to southern and eastern Europeans.[3]

6. Immigrants as a class are considered tractable.[4] They are said to be easily amenable to discipline and, if treated fairly, are not difficult to manage. This general trait has made them easily available for industries which call for mass production, and has facilitated the grouping of large numbers in single establishments.

7. The immigrants have been willing to undertake work refused or stigmatized by others either because it is too difficult, or too dirty, or because it is performed under conditions which do not have a wide appeal.[5] In consequence, immigrants have formed a large part of the unskilled labor force in certain industries in which mechanical development has not advanced to the stage where such labor can be replaced by machines.

8. The immigrant, because of his economic and social background, is able and for a time is willing to adjust himself to a lower scale of living than native workers, and has, therefore, been ready to work for less than would have had to be paid native workers. Since, in many cases, wages figure more largely in the cost of production than other items, manufacturers employing large numbers of foreign born have been able, by paying low wages, to compete with other manufacturers who produce similar goods

[1]Thomas, William I. and Znaniecki, Florian. "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America." The University of Chicago Press, 1918, Vol. I, p. 192.
[2]Foerster, Robert F., *op. cit.*, p. 372.
[3]See also: Burgess, Thomas. "Greeks in America," Sherman, French & Co., Boston, 1913, p. 42; Lord, Eliot, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 114 ff; Haskin, Frederic J., *op. cit.*, pp. 131–138.
[4]Haskin, Frederic J., *op. cit.*, pp. 116 ff.
[5]Dow, Grove Samuel. "Society and Its Problems," Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1922, pp. 111–112; Ross, Edward Alsworth. "The Old World in the New," Century Co., New York, 1914, pp. 215–219; Balch, Emily G., *op. cit.*, p. 282.

at low prices because of more efficient management, greater use of mechanical power and improved processes. From a broader point of view, the lower wage of the immigrant may constitute an economic disadvantage, since it results in not only a lower buying power and less demand for goods, but a retarding of the mechanical and scientific progress which is necessary to more efficient and cheaper production.

9. It is significant, however, that while immigrants show a willingness to accept certain types of work distasteful to native Americans, the children of immigrants show an aversion to following in the footsteps of their parents in this respect.[1] The second generation tends particularly to move into the "white collar" class and this probably explains why, in the clerical occupations, the children of the foreign born are so numerous. This tendency to get out of unattractive or low-wage jobs means a steady turnover of immigrant labor in such occupations and, unless a new supply is steadily available, helps to hasten the improvement of industrial processes.

10. The literacy test set up by the law of 1917 requires only that immigrants shall be able to read in some language. Many immigrants admitted to the United States not only know nothing of the English language but cannot write in any language. This probably explains why the percentage of illiteracy among the foreign born had not decreased at the 1920 census, since census statistics of illiteracy are based on ability to write. Table 8 gives the percentage of illiteracy among the various classes of population in the United States at the last four census periods.

This fact raises special problems for industrial management, due to the different languages spoken by different immigrants in the same establishment, and their antagonisms toward nationalities other than their own. In some instances it has been found that immigrants of only one locality may be employed together satisfactorily. This has been pointed out in relation to the Greeks and to the Southern Italians, who often do not work in harmony with any aliens except those coming

[1]Čapek, Thomas, "The Čechs (Bohemians) in America," Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1920, pp. 73 ff; Mariano, John Horace. "The Italian Contribution to American Democracy," Christopher Publishing House, Boston, 1921, pp. 34–36; Roberts, Peter. "Immigrant Wage Earners," In: Russell Sage Foundation. The Pittsburgh Survey. Survey Associates, Inc., New York, 1914, Vol. II, "Wage Earning Pittsburgh," p. 33.

TABLE 8: PERCENTAGE OF ILLITERACY, BY CLASS OF POPULATION, 1890, 1900, 1910 AND 1920*

Class of population	Percentage of illiteracy among population 10 years of age and over[a]			
	1890	1900	1910	1920
All classes[b]	13.3	10.7	7.7	6.0
Native white—native parentage	7.5	5.7	3.7	2.5
Native white—foreign or mixed parentage	2.2	1.6	1.1	0.8
Foreign born white	13.1	12.9	12.7	13.1
Negro	57.1	44.5	30.4	22.9

*Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. "Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920," Vol. III, p. 17; *ibid.*, "Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910," Vol. 1, p. 1187.

[a]The Census Bureau classifies as illiterate any person unable to write in any language, not necessarily English, regardless of ability to read.

[b]Includes Indian, Chinese, Japanese and all other classes in addition to those listed.

from the same town or locality and speaking their particular dialect.[1]

Furthermore, the inability of immigrants to read English, as well as their lack of industrial experience, also makes them more prone to accident. While extensive information on accident experience with immigrant and native workmen is not available, such reports as are at hand give supporting evidence of the greater liability of immigrants to accident.[2]

11. Statements claiming that immigrant workmen show lower productive efficiency than native workers are sometimes made, but the widespread employment of immigrants, as well as the preference of many employers for them, would rather indicate that for the particular work in which they are chiefly engaged they are, on the whole, regarded as satisfactory.[3] It is probably true, however, that their employment involves a higher overhead expense. As most of them are unskilled in the processes, and untrained in the discipline of American industry, they must be more closely supervised than is necessary with natives of comparable status. Because they are as a rule inclined to think in terms of money wages rather than the purchasing value of these wages, they are frequently willing to leave their jobs on the slightest pretext if a higher money wage is promised elsewhere.[4]

[1]Burgess, Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 ff; Roberts, Peter, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[2]Balch, Emily G., *op. cit.*, pp. 300–301; Roberts, Peter, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–91.

[3]Roberts, Peter, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-98; Malcom, M. Vartan. "The Armenians in America," The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1919, pp. 83-85.

[4]Fairchild, Henry Pratt. "Greek Immigration to the United States," Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1911, p. 139; Breckinridge, Sophonisba P. "New Homes For Old," Harper & Bros., New York, 1921, pp. 88 ff.

In short, while certain of the characteristics of the immigrants described above have made them seem a valuable addition to industry, others have made them the target of attack by those interested in the maintenance of high standards of living and working conditions. The latter persons view the presence of the immigrants as a menace to continued improvement of industrial conditions.[1]

Relation of the Foreign Born to the Labor Group as a Whole

From the standpoint of the workers already in the United States, the immigrants are not generally regarded with much favor. Primarily, the native workers see in the immigrants a group of persons who compete with them for employment. Moreover, they view the immigrants as undesirable competitors whose presence not only threatens their livelihood but also their standard of living, and the maintenance of good working conditions.

The immigrants' lack of knowledge of American conditions, the lower standards of working and living conditions in the European countries from which immigrants come, and their universal eagerness to earn money make them frequently willing to accept employment here under conditions below the general level in the United States.[2] Immigrants, therefore, have in the past abounded in the "sweated" trades and in marginal industries where working standards were low and difficult to improve. On the other hand, the clothing trades afford an example of the influence of the immigrant in raising working standards above those that obtained when the natives predominated in this industry.

They have often been introduced as strike breakers—sometimes because labor conditions have been misrepresented to them, and sometimes because of their own ignorance. But regardless of the reason, the part they have played in strike breaking has naturally engendered much ill will.[3] Moreover, their gregariousness, coupled with the fact that they draw off into national groups, sets them off as units within a unit, and thus frequently subjects them to further misunderstanding.

[1]Ross, Edward A., *op. cit.*, pp. 197–198; Hall, Prescott F. "Immigration and Its Effects Upon the United States," Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1906, pp. 123 ff.

[2]Lord, Eliot, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 61; Balch, Emily G., *op. cit.*, pp. 293–294, 355; Haskin, Frederic J., *op. cit.*, pp. 119 ff.; Breckinridge, S. P., *op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff.; James, Edmund J. (editor) "The Immigrant Jew in America," B. F. Buck & Co., New York, 1907, pp. 128 ff.; Ross, Edward A., *op. cit.*, pp. 198–201, 210–215; Mariano, John H., *op. cit.*, pp. 33 ff.; Hall, Prescott F., *op. cit.*, pp. 128–129; Roberts, Peter, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–69; Warne, Frank J., *op. cit.*, pp. 150 ff.

[3]Ross, Edward A., *op. cit.*, pp. 207 ff.

As already indicated, a large proportion of the recent immigrants are unskilled workmen who have no special asset except their physical strength and, in consequence, are fitted only for common labor. In the unskilled trades, however, wages and working conditions are lower than in the skilled or semi-skilled trades. It is claimed, therefore, that the influx of immigrants into the unskilled trades means to the millions of unskilled laborers already employed an increase in the labor reserve and, as a result, a keener competition for work as well as increased difficulty in raising the wage level.[1]

In addition, much antagonism against the immigrants arises from their generally lower standard of living. Due to their past economic and social environment, the living standards of the more recent immigrants, as shown by living conditions in the foreign sections of our cities, seem low, judged by American ideals, although they are considerably above those to which these classes of immigrants have been accustomed abroad.

Labor leaders are, on the whole, hostile to the immigrants on the score that they refuse to join labor organizations, that they are difficult to organize and that their presence tends to keep wages from rising to the point which they otherwise might reach.[2]

In general, it may be said that, from the labor point of view, the immigrant is in the position of a competitor who tries or is able to undersell. This characteristic, as has been indicated, is not due to the immigrant alone, but is one result of the manifold changes which immigration has brought about in our industrial development.

There can be no question that in some industries the foreign born have displaced the natives. In some cases this displacement has been repeated, the immigrants of one race being supplanted by immigrants of another race at a later period. An example of such displacement is found in the clothing trade. In New York City this trade in the early nineteenth

[1]Lord, Eliot, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 ff., 159–161; Warne, F. J., *op. cit.*, pp. 177–184; Mitchell, John, "Immigration and the Laboring Classes," In: American Academy of Political and Social Science. *The Annals*, Philadelphia, 1909, Vol. XXXIV, p. 127; Hall, Prescott F., *op. cit.*, pp. 124 ff., 135–138; Ross, Edward A., *op. cit.*, pp. 220 ff.; Balch, Emily G., *op. cit.*, pp. 299–300.

[2]Commons, John R. "Races and Immigrants in America," The Macmillan Co., New York, 1907, pp. 153 ff.; Warne, Frank J. "The Tide of Immigration," D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1916, pp. 170 ff.; U. S. Industrial Commission. Reports, Washington, 1901, Vol. XV, p. 309; U. S. Reports of the Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 540; U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations. Report, Washington, 1916, Vol. I, p. 144; Balch, Emily G., *op. cit.*, pp. 288–9; Warne, Frank J. "The Immigrant Invasion," pp. 184 ff.; Ross, Edward A., *op. cit.*, pp. 209–214; James, Edmund Janes, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–138.

century was carried on mainly by Americans, English and Scotch. After the Civil War the Germans assumed a dominant position, to be superseded later by the Hebrews,[1] Italians and other southern Europeans. In the manufacture of collars and cuffs the Irish were at first the largest numerical group, but were supplanted by the Poles and the Armenians. In the rope industry the Irish were superseded by the Swedes, and the Swedes by the Italians. In the paper manufacturing industry the Germans, English and Irish have given way to the Russians and Poles. In the northern cotton manufacturing industry Americans were displaced by Irish, and the cycle since has been French Canadians, Portuguese, Greeks, Syrians, Poles and Italians.[2]

Social and Other Aspects of Immigration

Any adequate consideration of the immigration problem makes it evident how closely the economic aspects of the problems are bound up with the social aspects. Not only do the social and racial characteristics of the immigrants exert a distinct influence on our economic situation, but, since economic conditions reflect themselves in human behavior, they mold the social assimilation of a newcomer so subject to them as the immigrant is. Regardless, however, of the immigrants' part in our purely economic and industrial life, their racial heredity, their biological characteristics, their thinking and living habits, must all have an influence upon the social traditions and the culture of the American people. Our economic institutions, after all, form only part of our civilization and affect only part of the immigrant's life, and the broader problem of the immigrant's relation to the American community involves these other important questions: Has the social and cultural assimilation of the immigrant been effective? What has the mutual adjustment done to the immigrant, to his health, his morals, his customs and his culture? What has it done, on the other hand, to American racial unity and health, to the country's institutions, government and social welfare?

The answers to these questions involve profound and highly technical problems of biology, anthropology, sociology and psychology, upon which there is a mass of literature and discussion, but little comprehensive evidence. The significance of this fragmentary evidence is, moreover, highly controversial.

[1]U. S. Reports of the Industrial Commission, *op. cit.*, Vol. XV, p. 324.
[2]Warne, Frank J., *op. cit.*, pp. 165–167; Commons, John R., *op. cit.*, pp. 151–152.

Conclusive solutions to these problems can be found only after long and painstaking investigation, and it is possible here only to indicate their nature and scope and the general bearing of the data that exist.

The problems of social adjustment fall roughly into two broad classes: first, adjustment of the immigrant to American group life and institutions; and, second, his racial assimilation and its effects.

The sudden change to new surroundings, where people have different customs and different standards, often tends to exert a harmful influence on the character and moral ideas of the foreign born. This tendency to moral deterioration, while not applying equally to all races, is commented on with sufficient frequency by students and observers to merit careful attention. In part, it is ascribed to the breakdown of the family unit, to the estrangement of parents and children and to the relaxed influence of the social group by which the conduct of the individual in his native environment was largely regulated.

Immigration and Family Life

In all social organization the family is the most important of the primary groups. Aside from being the unit of kinship, the family is an effective means of social control. The effect of immigration on family life is, in consequence, an important consideration. Many of the immigrants who come to the United States leave their families behind. They live in camps and bunk houses or as boarders in other families until they establish a new family life or re-establish the old, and this method of existence is often accompanied by evil effects.[1] Sometimes, too, the individual who has already undergone changes in the process of Americanization finds himself somewhat out of harmony with other members of the family when they are brought over to the United States.

The immigrant in the United States, separated from the influence of the family group, may go through a process of individualization which breeds independence and develops character and so, ultimately, a better type of citizen; but often the loss in family coherence exerts a harmful effect. Whereas in his native country the immigrant counted mainly as a member

[1]Lord, Eliot, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 68–69; Ross, Edward A., *op. cit.*, pp. 237–38; Burgess, Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 130 ff.

of the family, in the American community he begins to count as an individual. As expressed in one instance:

> "The family ceases to be necessary at all. It is not needed for assistance because the individual gets on alone. It is not needed for the satisfaction of sociable tendencies, because these tendencies can be satisfied among friends and companions. A community of experience and a similarity of attitudes create a feeling of solidarity among the young generation as against the old generation, without regard to family connections. The social interests and the family interests no longer coincide but cross each other . . . Young people keep constantly together, apart from the old, and 'good company' becomes the main attraction . . . drawing the boy or the girl from the home to the street."[1]

With the removal of families to the United States and the unequal rate of adaptation among parents and children, a breakdown of family life and family influence frequently results.[2] The parents may not speak English and may not have the opportunity or incentive to learn. In consequence, they are at a disadvantage in the community and likely to be regarded with disrespect, not only by their children and by the foreign born who have become more Americanized than they, but also by the native born. The children of immigrants, who learn English in the schools, often feel themselves superior to their parents.[3] For this reason the parents are frequently unable to control their children in the new surroundings, a situation which fosters the breach between them.

Thomas and Znaniecki, in their study of the Polish peasant in Europe and America, point out that

> ". . . the most complete break between parents and children—one presenting itself every day in our juvenile courts—comes with the emigration of the family as a whole to America. The children brought with the family or added to it in America do not acquire the traditional attitude of family solidarity, but rather the American individualistic ideals, while the parents remain unchanged, and there frequently results a complete and painful antagonism between children and parents. This has various expressions, but perhaps the most definite one is economic—the demand of the parents for all the earnings of the child, and eventually as complete an avoidance as possible of the parents by the child. The mutual hate, the hardness, unreasonableness, and brutality of the parents, the contempt and ridicule of the child—ridicule of the speech and old-country habits and views of the parents—become almost incredible. Parents, for example, resort to juvenile court, not as a means of reform, but as an instrument of vengeance; they will swear away the character of their girl . . . when there is not the slightest ground for it. It is the same situation we shall note elsewhere, when the peasant is unable to adjust his difficulties with his neighbors by social

[1] Thomas and Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 102.
[2] U. S. Report of the Industrial Commission, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 45–46.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 82, 115 ff.

means and resorts to the courts as a pure expression of enmity, and with a total disregard of right or wrong."[1]

Finally, among some of the immigrant groups the wives and children are put to work at the first opportunity and kept at work for as long as possible in order to swell the family income. Frequently at night all members of the family may work together, although legal restrictions in recent years have greatly limited this practice. Such conditions of labor not only react unfavorably on family life, from the social standpoint, but at times have served as a cause for friction between parents and children.[2]

Immigration and Social Groups

In addition to the family, other social influences affect the immigrant's conduct here. Not only the law, which affords one of the most self-evident and positive means of group control of individual conduct, but also such influences as the church, clubs, societies, custom, the prestige and example of important members of the community, the standards of morality, culture and freedom in the community, and the fear of social disapproval provide effective media of social control. The primary value of the foreign social groups from which the immigrants have come lies in the unity which they foster and the influence which they exert on morality, especially in the prevention of anti-social acts. Immigration to the United States, however, usually breaks down some of these valuable social influences, and without them a moral weakening frequently takes place among the immigrants in the United States. This is due, in considerable degree, to the relative freedom from restraint which immigrants experience in America and to which they are, on the whole, unaccustomed. Such group disorganization is the reason for much of the anti-social behavior prevalent among certain classes of immigrants. In addition, our unfamiliar legal concepts and authority may not exert so great an influence on the foreigner's conduct and on his attitude toward the state and society as did those to which he was accustomed.

[1]Thomas and Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 103–104. Similar testimony with respect to other groups of immigrants is afforded by other writers. Cf. Breckinridge, S. P., *op. cit.*, pp. 47–53, 149–174; Roberts, Peter, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–340; Ross, Edward A., *op. cit.*, pp. 245-249.

[2]Dow, G. S., *op. cit.*, pp. 112 ff.

Immigration and Living Conditions

Largely because of their eagerness to maintain their family and group unity, immigrants tend to be drawn to those sections within each city where their countrymen are and where their inability to speak English will not bar them from free social intercourse or mark them as aliens subject to suspicion or ridicule. The tendency of foreigners to congregate in national groups and to form little cities within cities, patronizing their own shops, restaurants, banks and fraternal organizations, springs from a natural protective impulse and has its advantages as well as its disadvantages.

Without question it helps to moderate the break between life in the old world and that in the new. On the other hand, it taxes housing facilities and makes for overcrowding in certain sections of cities. Almost all studies of this problem show the tendency of the immigrants to overcrowd, to keep boarders and lodgers and, frequently, to have several families live together in small quarters. Immigrants show a higher average of persons per room and per sleeping room than do the native born. This tendency fosters low-grade and insanitary housing conditions and aids in maintaining slums.[1] Even more significant is the fact that it reacts on the immigrant's mental attitude toward the United States. The home is the first potent contact that he makes with America, and the home environment tends to react strongly on his life and character as well as on his citizenship.

Naturally, also, the immigrants tend, by reason of their close contact with others of the same race, to continue their older dietary and costume and other living habits and so to emphasize the contrast between themselves and their new environment. It is, of course, a question whether these habits are essentially objectionable to the community for any other reason than that they are different, and whether complete changes in living conditions and habits are a necessary implication of assimilation. Yet, evidence shows clearly that, with improvement in their economic position, immigrants tend to alter their living conditions to accord more with American standards, to seek better types of dwelling places, and to reduce their overcrowding.

[1]Burgess, Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 147–150; Roberts, Peter, *op. cit.*, pp. 348–349; Ross, Edward A., *op. cit.*, pp. 238–239; Lord, Eliot, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–77; Haskin, Frederic J., *op. cit.*, pp. 213 ff.; Malcom, M. Vartan, *op. cit.*, pp. 128 ff.

It should be borne in mind also that immigrants as a class are frequently blamed for bad housing and living conditions over which they have no control. These conditions may be due in part to the attitude of Americans toward immigrants, and to the economic status of the immigrant working class. Emily G. Balch, in her study of Slavic immigration, points out that "the question of housing for the Slavic laborer is the question of working-class housing in its entirety. Only here the evils are intensified by the ignorance and helplessness of the tenant, and by a feeling, more or less unconscious, perhaps, on the part of employers and public, that what is not good enough for Americans is good enough for foreigners."[1]

The question of housing and living conditions is of the utmost importance in considering the immigrant in his relation to the American community. "Keep the immigrant population in a fairly normal condition of health," says Kate H. Claghorn, "and they will, of themselves, go far towards working out the rest of their salvation. And this can undoubtedly be done by intelligent municipal regulation, especially of housing conditions. . . . It is, indeed, impossible to calculate how great has been the social loss and waste, how heavy the additional burden of pauperism, due to the policy of allowing landlords to hive as many human beings as possible upon a given space of land, without regard to health or decency."[2]

Illiteracy and School Attendance

In discussing illiteracy among immigrants and its influence in community life, two considerations must be borne in mind. The one relates to the official meaning of the term "illiteracy" as applied to immigrants by the United States Government, and the other is the fact that illiteracy in this sense is not synonymous with low intelligence.

The United States Census classifies as illiterate any person who cannot write in some language, regardless of his ability to read. In this sense, illiteracy among the foreign born already resident in the United States is pronounced, and its prevalence makes difficulties for the illiterates themselves and for those who deal with them. An illiterate may readily be exploited and plundered because of his ignorance; his efficiency as a worker

[1]Balch, Emily G., *op. cit.*, p. 361.

[2]Claghorn, Kate Holladay. "Immigration in Its Relation to Pauperism." In: American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, Philadelphia, July, 1904, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, pp. 202–203.

is greatly handicapped by lack of a reading knowledge of some language, and especially the English language. While it is true that illiteracy frequently reflects only lack of opportunity for schooling, the fact is that it makes for inefficient functioning in the community.

Since social assimilation involves contact with Americans and American ideas, it is, therefore, to a great extent dependent upon the ability of the immigrant to understand the English language and upon the careful training of the younger generation of newcomers. The immigration law of 1917 instituted a literacy test for all persons sixteen years of age and over. In consequence, persons who cannot read in at least one language are excluded. Absolute illiteracy among immigrants has therefore been largely eliminated since 1917, but the reading test applied on entrance does not insure a high standard of literacy even in the native language. Since literacy in English is not required, this test does nothing to solve the problem of adjustment to the English speaking community. This difficulty can be offset, however, by providing thorough schooling for the younger immigrants and prompt instruction in English for the older ones.

It is significant in this connection that in 1920 only 44.2% of the foreign born whites from five to twenty years of age were attending school, as compared with 66.9% of the native whites of native parentage and 65.8% of the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage. The highest percentage of attendance for all groups was shown for children from seven to thirteen years of age. Of the foreign born white children in this age group, 84% were attending school, while of the native white children of native parentage 92%, and of the native white children of foreign or mixed parentage 94%, were attending school.[1] The high percentage of school attendance among the native born of foreign parentage shows the eagerness of the foreign born to give their children the opportunity of schooling. The effect of this school attendance, in turn, is reflected in the low illiteracy figure for the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage. In 1920, only 8 of every 1,000 native whites of foreign or mixed parentage were illiterate, as against 25 in every 1,000 for the native white of native parentage and 130 for the foreign born.[2]

[1]U. S. Bureau of the Census. "Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920," Vol. III, p. 15.

[2]Cf. Table 8 on page 36.

It should be borne in mind that while some immigrants regard education as a necessary evil and keep their children at school only during the period when compelled to do so by law, others willingly take advantage of the free schools and sacrifice everything in order to give their children an education which they themselves may not have had. The economic status of the individual family may also determine its willingness to keep children in school after they are of wage-earning age.

Intelligence of Immigrants

Beyond the immediate problem of literacy and schooling, however, lies that of the immigrant's mental endowment. The efficiency of the immigrant in his American environment and the effects of his assimilation on American social life in general are largely dependent upon his mental capacity. Scientific means of measuring individual differences in mental traits and capacities have but recently been developed. The more difficult task of measuring differences due to race has scarcely reached even the experimental stage. Some studies which have undertaken to show racial differences have used as their bases mental tests originally given for another purpose and re-examined from the point of view of nativity or race. The most recent of these is based on a rearrangement of data obtained in giving the army mental tests. This study concludes that the average intelligence of our immigrants is declining, due principally to the proportionately larger migration in recent years from southern and eastern Europe, whose representatives among the immigrants in the United States are thought to be intellectually inferior to those from northern and western Europe. In addition, the study concludes that we are getting progressively lower types from each nativity group or race.[1]

While this study contains much interesting material, it must be remembered that the army intelligence tests on which it was based were designed primarily to assist in eliminating the mentally incompetent and advancing the competent men.[2] Although the tests were so planned that they were supposed to be equally applicable to men of every nationality, their main purpose was certainly not a comparison of the intelligence level

[1]Brigham, Carl C. "A Study of American Intelligence," Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1923, pp. 197–210.

[2]Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1923, Vol. XV, p. 19.

of different races. The difficulty of devising a valid test for this purpose can hardly be overestimated. Moreover, it is impossible to generalize about the mentality of various races unless experiments can be conducted on fair samples of the population of each race, in its native country and language.

On the basis of the army tests it has been found that among the representatives who have come to the United States, men of high intelligence are relatively rare and those of low intelligence are relatively frequent among the southern and eastern Europeans, whereas among the northern and western Europeans high intelligence is relatively more frequent, and low intelligence less frequent.[1] The most important fact brought out by the army tests applied to the foreign born seems to be that many mental defectives have escaped detection by the immigration authorities, in spite of the present regulations excluding them.

This situation is worth serious consideration. The immigrant's successful and rapid adjustment to his new social and economic environment is of course largely dependent on native intelligence. The continued admission of large numbers of immigrants of low or defective mentality can only increase the difficulty of making the foreign born population an integral part of the American community. The possibility that mental defects may be transmitted also makes it necessary to know much more about this question of the average mental endowment of various races before the important question of racial intermixture can be adequately answered. The intelligence level of the immigrants of this generation may affect the intelligence of America's population for many generations to come.

Social Adequacy of Immigrants

In judging the effect of immigration on the American community, one asks first whether the immigrant, by reason of his living habits, illiteracy, intelligence or other special characteristics, is so inherently unable to make the necessary social adjustments that he puts an undue strain on the community and weakens its social health and integrity. In discussing this question it is important to bear in mind again the fact that the problem of adequate social adjustment involves not only the adjustment of the immigrant to the community but that of the community

[1]Brigham, Carl C., *op. cit.*, pp. 148-150.

to the immigrant, and that the economic status of the foreigner has an especially important bearing on this mutual adjustment. In considering the indications of social inadequacy in the immigrant population it is therefore necessary, though difficult, to distinguish between the influence of American environment, especially that created by American economic conditions, and the inherent inadequacy of a given individual or group among the foreign born. This distinction becomes the more necessary when it is considered that the indications of social inadequacy most used are criminality, insanity, pauperism and disease among the foreign born, all of which may result in part from the nature of the social and economic environment which the immigrant finds in America.

One of the chief indictments made against the foreign born is that they tend to show a frequency of criminality out of proportion to their numbers in the population, and that crimes of a violent character, in particular, have increased because of the presence of the southern and eastern Europeans. It is also claimed that, because immigrant stock is more prone to insanity, pauperism, disease, and dependency than the native stock, it places an undue burden on society.[1] On no phase of the immigration problem is the evidence so fragmentary and limited. Even complete census statistics cannot be obtained for a period later than 1910, and it seems clear that no judgment of permanent value can be drawn from the data available.

Harry H. Laughlin, of the Eugenics Record Office of the Carnegie Institute at Washington, recently made a study for the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the United States House of Representatives,[2] designed to measure the extent to which each of the several alien nativity groups in the United States were socially inadequate or, in other words, inherently incapable of maintaining themselves as useful members of organized social life.[3] Laughlin's conclusion was that,

[1]Haskin, Frederic J., *op. cit.*, pp. 147 ff., 195 ff.; Roberts, Peter, *op. cit.*, pp. 233–247; Hall, Prescott F., *op. cit.*, pp. 146–169; Whelpley, James Davenport. "The Problem of the Immigrant," E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1905, pp. 15–16. Capek, Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–95; Lord, Eliot, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 190–220; Fairchild, Henry P., *op. cit.*, p. 239; James, Edmund J., *op. cit.*, p. 295; Johnson, Stanley C., *op. cit.*, pp. 319 ff.; Ross, Edward A., *op. cit.*, pp. 228 ff., 240–245, 249–250.

[2]U. S. House of Representatives. Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. Hearings "Analysis of American's Melting Pot," November 21, 1921. Serial 7-c, Washington, 1923.

[3]A socially inadequate person is defined by Dr. Laughlin as "one who by his or her own effort, chronically, and regardless of etiology or prognosis, fails in comparison with normal persons to maintain himself or herself as a useful member of the organized social life of the State; provided that the term socially inadequate shall not be applied to any person whose individual or social ineffectiveness is due to normally expected exigencies of youth, old age, curable injuries, or temporary physical or mental illness, in case such ineffectiveness is adequately taken care of by the particular family in which it occurs." *Op. cit.*, p. 730.

making all allowances for environmental conditions which may be unfavorable to the immigrant, the recent immigrants, in general, "present a higher percentage of inborn socially inadequate qualities than do the older stocks," and the immigrant stock as a whole shows a percentage higher than for the native stock.[1]

The study of this question is, however, in its earliest stages and the formulation of final conclusions as to the relative social adequacy of the various racial stocks must wait upon more comprehensive biological and sociological data than are now available. Throughout his report, Laughlin distinguished between the degeneracy among the racial groups now in our population, as shown by his researches, and the relative value of different racial stocks as a whole, which his study did not claim to measure. As has been indicated before, this distinction is important to maintain when discussing the social effects of immigration—not only those that have been apparent in the past but those that may be expected in the future. It seems clear that many inferior types of immigrants have been admitted to the United States. Whether the remedy for this situation lies in merely raising the physical and mental requirements, or in selecting the newcomers by race, cannot be determined until more is known about the inherent social fitness of each racial group, as distinguished from the effects of the American environment, if indeed such a quality can ever be reduced to a quantitative basis.

Political Assimilation of Immigrants

The adjustment of the immigrant to our political life is a special aspect of his social adjustment in general. In connection with this question it is to be noted again that the adaptation should not be considered, as it so frequently is, a purely one-sided process. Indeed, the basic theory of American democratic government implies a continuous adaptation of political institutions to popular needs, and recognizes that the development of a superior citizenship requires adequacy and responsiveness of government no less than loyalty of citizens. The immigrants unquestionably constitute a heterogeneous mass with ill-defined or markedly alien political ideas and attitudes, and the task of naturalization and political assimilation in building a type of

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 752–755.

citizenship that will measure up to the best that America can and should be, is not small.

In 1920 there were in the city of Boston 57,011 Irish born persons, 38,179 Italians, 38,021 Russians and 12,408 English; in the city of New York, 479,797 Russians, 390,832 Italians, 203,450 Irish, 194,154 Germans, 145,679 Poles, 126,739 Austrians, 67,295 Scandinavians, and 64,383 Hungarians; in Chicago there were 137,611 Poles, 112,288 Germans, 102,095 Russians, 90,312 Scandinavians, 59,215 Italians, 50,392 Czechs, 30,491 Austrians and 26,106 Hungarians; in St. Louis, 30,089 Germans, 13,067 Russians, 9,067 Italians, 9,244 Irish and 5,587 Austrians; and in the city of San Francisco, 23,924 Italians, 18,513 Germans, 18,257 Irish and 10,107 English.[1] The difficult problem of coordinating and acquainting these groups with the machinery and concepts of local, state or national government can well be realized. Undoubtedly the ignorance of the foreign born voters has been exploited by politicians. Without question, also, designing foreign born groups, by threatening to deliver the so-called "foreign vote," have sought and sometimes succeeded in using undue group influence on government, but this deficiency of citizenship is not an inherent and exclusive characteristic of the foreign born. While some hold that the foreign born are subservient voters heeding the bidding of politicians, others hold that the foreign born make more independent voters because they are not bound by political inheritance or prejudice.[2]

Whatever the political attitude of the foreigner, however, it comes into play as an effective political force only after naturalization. According to the Census of 1910, of every 100 foreign born white males of voting age, 46 were naturalized. In 1920, the ratio was increased to 48 out of every 100.[3] As the social contact of the immigrant widens and he feels that the community in which he lives is interested in him, he in turn may wish to take greater part in the responsibility of government. One of the Americanization studies made under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation shows that "the average alien waits more than ten years before applying for citizenship;"[4]

[1]U. S. Bureau of the Census. "Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920," Vol. III, pp. 50 ff.

[2]Bennet, William S. "The Effect of Immigration on Municipal Politics." In: National Municipal League. *Proceedings of the Cincinnati Conference for Good City Government*, 1909, pp. 142–147; Faust, Albert B., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 122–200.

[3]U. S. Bureau of the Census. "Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920," Vol. III, p. 18.

[4]Gavit, John Palmer. "Americans by Choice," Harper & Bros., New York, 1922, p. 17.

and that individual interest in politics and the rate of naturalization both increase as the individuals "toil upward in the social and economic scale."[1]

On the basis of statistics prepared for this study the common belief that the old immigrants are more easily converted into citizens than the new, is set aside for two new conclusions: (1) that "those from countries where, at the time of their immigration, there was either autocratic government or political discontent, or inferior economic opportunity, head the list of those who seek... fellow membership with us;" (2) that "those from countries where government was relatively democratic, where individual liberty prevailed, where political, social and economic conditions were conducive to contentment, are satisfied to keep the citizenship of their fatherlands."[2]

Whatever the cause, a substantial number of immigrants do not become citizens and take no part in the duties which a democratic government entails. Certainly the presence of a large number of aliens whose loyalty is sometimes divided impedes the machinery of good government.[3] Yet it is unquestionably true that the responsibility of citizenship so liberally afforded in a democracy like the United States is regarded as a privilege by many of the newcomers and accepted with a seriousness and sense of duty, loyalty and pride.[4]

According to John Palmer Gavit, "there is little substantial evidence in these days that the foreign born voter, as such, is a source of corruption or other evil influence in our politics."[5]

While the recommendation of President Roosevelt that the government should "keep out all immigrants who will not make good citizens" is a valuable principle for guidance, the policy of forcing all aliens in the United States to become citizens, which has been so frequently urged, particularly during the war, has its apparent drawbacks. A government must depend on the loyalty and sense of civic responsibility of its citizens and simulation must not be accepted for true assimilation.

As for the radicalism of the foreigner, this is difficult to judge.

[1]*Ibid.*, pp. 252 ff. A large part of the responsibility for this delay is ascribed to the insufficient personnel in the Naturalization Bureau and the need for simplifying and standardizing the whole machinery of naturalization. (pp. 427 ff.)

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 244.

[3]Fairchild, Henry P., *op. cit.*, pp. 209–212; Johnson, Stanley C., *op. cit.*, pp. 318–319; Ross, Edward A., *op. cit.*, pp. 264 ff.; Hall, Prescott F., *op. cit.*, pp. 183 ff.; Roberts, Peter, *op. cit.*, pp. 248–264.

[4]Faust, Albert B., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 122 ff.; James, Edmund J., *op. cit.*, pp. 257 ff.; Mariano, John H., *op. cit.*, pp. 65–70.

[5]Gavit, John Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

Since certain racial groups come from countries where there has been dissatisfaction with the government, an extension of their feeling of hostility to all governments is quite possible. On the other hand, many of those dissatisfied with their home government have come here because they appreciate a democratic government.

Racial Assimilation of Immigrants

Reaching far beyond the question of the adjustment of the foreign born or their children to social and economic life in America is that of the biological effect of the mingling of their bloods with the native stock. This is, of course, the problem of fundamental and recurring interest in all human migrations, and there is probably no question in the whole immigration problem on which the data are so indefinite and perplexing and the clash of opinion so marked.[1] What constitutes purity of race, whether pure races are superior to mixed races, and what the effects of certain mixtures are, are problems so unsettled that mere opinion and prejudice still have final force in the answers given to them.

One writer, for example, holding the view that intermixture of different races breeds mongrelism, and that "a mongrel people never attain real prosperity,"[2] recently pleaded against "our importation of multitudes of ignorant and utterly alien laborers,"[3] in his opinion the surest step to mental degeneracy and racial deterioration. While recognizing that the principle of selection in breeding produces improved types, he points out that cross-breeding gives as many undesirable as desirable offspring, and that among hybrids, the tendency to reversion and loss by the offspring of the good traits of their parents is great.[4]

This view, and the belief in pure-bred races, is shared by others,[5] but opinion is far from unanimous. Indeed, many authorities and writers hold a contrary view.

[1]Balch, Emily G., *op. cit.*, pp. 403–404; Lord, Eliot, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 ff. Malcom, M. Vartan, *op. cit.*, pp. X–XIII; James, Edmund J., *op. cit.*, p. 303; Ross, Edward A., *op. cit.*, pp. 282–304; Hall, Prescott F., *op. cit.*, pp. 99 ff.

[2]Gould, Charles W. "America: A Family Matter," Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1922, p. 1.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 16. He states also "it behooves us to disregard every temptation, whether it be the threadbare plea of the need for cheap labor to develop our great resources, or the equally threadbare sentimentality which urges us to destroy ourselves under the specious and false assurance that out of mongrelism will arise perhaps some thousands of years hence a better strain. The labor thus imported will prove the most expensive ever employed, for we shall pay its wages in our race life's blood."

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 27.

[5]Grant, Madison. "Passing of the Great Race," Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1918; Schultz, Alfred P. "Race or Mongrel," L. C. Page & Co., Boston, 1908; Brigham, Carl C. "Study of American Intelligence"; Hall, Prescott F. "Immigration and the World War." In: American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, Philadelphia, January, 1921, Vol. XCIII, pp. 190–193; Ross, Edward A., *op. cit.*, pp. 282 ff.

Their position, briefly stated, is that absolute purity of race is to be found only among peoples in rare instances, that those races, especially of the Nordic strain situated in northern and western Europe, for whom claims of superiority are made, are not pure but mixed, and that, barring the crossing of lower types of inferior tendencies, racial intermixture is not harmful and may even be desirable. They also point to the fact that the great development of the United States has been made possible through the fusion of races in a favorable environment in a way not possible elsewhere.[1]

The controversy over racial characteristics and amalgamation, especially where the blending of immigrant stock with native stock is implied, is far from settlement and promises to increase rather than to subside.[2] Hitherto intermarriage has been accepted as the best proof of assimilation. Whether it is also desirable from a biological point of view is a question which as yet remains unanswered. Whatever objections may attach to the presence of the immigrant in the American community, a statesmanlike view demands full and impartial consideration of the factor of racial intermixture. If its consequences are deleterious it must weigh considerably against admission of large numbers of varied races. If, on the other hand, the consequences are beneficial, then the fears of racial degeneracy through immigration are groundless. Until more data of a scientific character are available as to the qualities of various races, the effect of racial intermixture, and the relative importance of heredity and environment on the individual, few conclusions of value can be reached.

[1]In order not to misinterpret the writings of such writers on this important point, the National Industrial Conference Board asked certain of them to state their opinions definitely. The following are excerpts from letters received: "I think that *all* race crossings of *color* races are bad and mischievous, but that blendings of varieties of the *same* color race are often good, when the blending elements are not of low mental or physical grade," Giddings, Franklin H. (Professor of Sociology at Columbia University), March 12, 1923. "I certainly see no harm in racial intermixture, assuming that the spread between the races is not too great. In other words, blends of allied types having a common bond in similar standards of living, habits of life, religion, etc., may be an improvement on either of the single types," Ripley, Wm. Z. (Professor of Economics, Harvard University), March 8th, 1923. "While we have little positive knowledge of what happens when races mix, there are not wanting hints that the result is frequently an illy balanced biological individual. Thus Negro-White, Indian-White, Polynesian-White, Australian-White, etc., are combinations of what are sometimes regarded as disparate anatomical units. Some observations in schools and in the army suggest that such mixtures often result in lowering of mentality. However, satisfactory data on these subjects are not available because the subject has not been sufficiently studied in a scientific manner. So, while the subject has not been more than scratched and there are abroad in the land men shouting vociferously that race counts not at all, that peoples should mix indiscriminately, while others say that mixture always results in undesirables, neither of these views can be regarded as unprejudiced nor undogmatic, since there are suggestions here and there that the results of such intermixture are not making for progress. * * * The chaotic state of public opinion on this subject is largely due to the lack of reliable scientific data." Wissler, Clark (Curator, American Museum of Natural History), March 5th, 1923.

[2]It is interesting to note that a similar controversy followed the Franco-Prussian War in which each group of contestants tried to prove the superiority of its racial strain.

Summary

On the whole, it is clear that no generalization that will apply fully and fairly to all immigrants can be made in respect to their relation to American economic life and social institutions. The evidence in many cases is incomplete and tinged by prejudice of various kinds. Persons of a particular race or religious sect too often show an inclination to exalt the virtues of their particular group and to condemn all others. In few problems of current interest is so much intolerance shown. Generally speaking, there are good immigrants as well as bad immigrants. This applies to all races in the same way that it applies also to native Americans. Similarly, certain economic and social advantages claimed for particular groups of immigrants can, in almost every instance, be offset by economic or social disadvantages charged against them.

The majority of immigrants who come to the United States arrive hopeful in spirit, eager to serve and to succeed. Many of them come from countries with a glorious past and culture which, because it differs from that of the United States, is not to be scoffed at or denied. Their successful economic, social and racial assimilation is largely in the hands of the American people.

III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FEDERAL IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

The policy of the Government toward immigration, as expressed in federal legislation, has varied with the volume and character of immigration, with domestic political, social and economic factors, and, to an extent, with such conditions abroad. The Government's policy at any time has been the outcome of numerous and diverse influences. These influences have resulted from various interpretations of the complex problems presented by the aliens within the country and by those coming into it. The history of American immigration policy shows the difficulty of comprehending, fairly interpreting and meeting through adequate legislation such a many-sided problem without a full knowledge of the facts regarding all the elements that enter into it.

The history of immigration legislation may be divided into four periods. The first is the Colonial period, which extends to about 1835; the second, or "Native American" and "Know Nothing" period, extends from 1835 to 1860; the third, from 1861 to 1882, covers the period through the end of state control; and the fourth, the period of national control, extends from 1882 to the present.[1]

The Colonial Period

Questions relating to immigration did not assume importance in public discussions during the early years of the Republic. Naturally, even a differentiation between those who had come as colonists and those who were immigrants did not arise until later, and no record was made of new settlers in the United States until after considerable numbers had come. The first legislation relating to immigration, passed in 1789,[2] was mainly the outcome of a political situation. It gave the President power to deport any alien whom he deemed dangerous to the United States and was aimed by the Federalist Party against the opposition party, which had a large number of foreign sup-

[1]Data concerning the early history of immigration legislation are taken mainly from U. S. Reports of the Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, Vol. 39.

[2]1 Stat. L., pp. 570-572.

porters. The duration of this law was fixed at two years. In order to keep a check on persons once deported the law provided that certain facts regarding the age, sex, occupation, and country of past and future residence of passengers arriving from foreign countries be recorded by the captains of vessels. These records constituted the first statistics of immigration. A law passed in 1819[1] made the first attempt to improve conditions of transportation by preventing overcrowding of passengers on sailing vessels, regulating their rations, etc., and, like the earlier law, required ship captains to keep records of passengers. This early legislation was thus humanitarian as well as political in nature, and acted as an encouragement rather than as a restriction to immigration.

The "Native American" Period

Although the number of alien arrivals steadily increased during the early days of the United States, little special attention was paid to them as a group until the early thirties. At that time the large percentage of Irish Catholic immigrants aroused anew the strong anti-Catholic feeling which had existed since early Colonial times. The "Native American" movement, directed chiefly against Catholic immigration, began in 1835. Its activities were mainly political, having as their objective the support of native American candidates for public offices. Through the efforts of the "Native American" group, the first Congressional inquiry into immigration was ordered, and a report was made regarding immigration of foreign paupers and criminals to the United States. No legislation was passed for a period of ten years, however, and the "Native American" organization lapsed.

With the sudden increase in immigration between 1848 and 1850, the "Native American" agitation became active again, in the form of what was called the "Know Nothing" party. On a platform of "America for Americans," they called for a tightening of the naturalization laws and restriction of the privileges of foreigners in the United States. Their only attempts to restrict immigration, however, were directed against foreign paupers and criminals. The "Know Nothing" party disintegrated about 1855, when the slavery issue eclipsed all other problems. Its efforts to restrict immigration made

[1] 3 Stat. L., pp. 488–9.

little or no general impression. On the other hand, national legislation which was enacted in 1847 and in 1848 improved conditions of steerage transportation and may, therefore, be regarded as favorable to immigration.

The End of State Control

Until 1876, the individual states continued to enact legislation more or less directly affecting the immigrant. As early as 1824, however, cases had come up before the United States Supreme Court and the state supreme courts, to test the limits of the right of the states to regulate commerce. The principal points settled by these cases were that a state could not legislate for the regulation of commerce, even though such legislation did not interfere with any existing act of Congress, and that passengers were subject to the same regulations as commerce. In 1876, the United States Supreme Court declared state control of immigration unconstitutional.[1] By this decision the United States Supreme Court declared unconstitutional certain statutes in several states containing provisions for the bonding of passengers by ship owners.

The principal significance of this decision, however, lay in a recommendation that Congress assume complete control of immigration. The decision read:

> "We are of opinion that this whole subject has been confided to Congress by the Constitution; that Congress can more appropriately and with more acceptance exercise it than any other body known to our law, State or national; that by providing a system of laws in these matters applicable to all ports and to all vessels, a serious question which has long been a matter of contest and complaint, may be effectually and satisfactorily settled."

Yet even before state control of immigration was declared unconstitutional, the Federal Government had made several attempts to deal with the problem on a national basis. By 1864 the labor shortage had become so acute, due to war conditions, that the Federal Government tried to further immigration by passing a law[2] favorable to the entrance of foreign contract labor. A federal official with offices in New York City was, for the first time, placed in charge of immigration. The contract labor law, enacted as a war emergency, was repealed in 1868.[3] It is significant as the only attempt of the Federal Government to encourage immigration by direct legislation.

[1] 92 U. S. 259.
[2] 13 Stat. L., p. 385.
[3] 15 Stat. L., p. 58.

For some years disapproval of certain types of immigrants had been growing. The main complaint was directed against the large number of foreigners arriving in the United States who, shortly after their entry, became public burdens because of their poverty. It was repeatedly charged that European countries were systematically emptying their criminal and pauper institutions into the United States. The large port cities, such as New York and Philadelphia, were forced to assume the responsibility of caring for the large numbers of dependent immigrant aliens who were landing on American shores. In 1866, the first official protests against the use by foreign governments of the United States as a "dumping ground" for criminals showed the growing recognition of certain undesirable social conditions resulting from unrestricted immigration. A joint resolution of Congress at that time cited the pardoning of a Swiss criminal by one of the Swiss cantons on condition that he emigrate to the United States, and resolved,

> "That the Congress of the United States protests against such acts as unfriendly and inconsistent with the comity of nations, and hereby requests the President of the United States to cause a copy of this protest to be communicated to the representatives of the United States in foreign countries, with instructions to present to the governments where they are accredited, respectively, and to insist that no such acts shall under any circumstances be repeated."[1]

The Period of National Control

An act[2] passed in 1882 marked the first important general federal immigration legislation. This law provided that the Secretary of the Treasury should be charged with executing the provisions of the act, and empowered him to delegate powers to such state officials as might be appointed by the governor of any state to supervise the local administration of the act. A head tax of fifty cents was levied on all aliens landing at any United States port, with the intention of defraying thereby administration expenses at that port. A beginning was made toward barring undesirable immigration by the exclusion of foreign convicts (except those convicted of political offenses), lunatics, idiots and persons likely to become public charges.[3]

Subsequent legislation of increasing severity was drawn

[1] U. S. Reports of the Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, Vol. 39, p 22.
[2] 22 Stat. L., pp. 214–15.
[3] Prostitutes, Oriental contract labor and convicts undergoing sentence for a crime not growing out of a political offense had been barred by the law of 1875. 18 Stat. L., pt. 3, p. 477.

along similar lines. In 1891,[1] 1903[2] and 1907[3] other classes were added to those already excluded as socially undesirable. Polygamists, persons suffering from a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, imbeciles and feeble-minded persons, persons mentally or physically defective in such a way as to affect their ability to obtain a living, were added to the list of excluded classes. In 1910, by the enactment of a law[4] for the suppression of the white slave traffic, women arriving for immoral purposes, or their procurers, were more effectively excluded.

Regulation of Oriental Immigration

While increasing governmental solicitude was being shown regarding aliens arriving at Atlantic ports, another problem was becoming acute on the western coast. From the early fifties up to the time of the Supreme Court decision of 1876, the state of California had attempted various methods for limiting Chinese immigration. Congress, however, was interested in suppressing the Chinese slave trade rather than in restricting Chinese immigration to the United States. In 1862[5] a law was passed to prevent American vessels from engaging in the coolie or slave trade; this was directed especially at such trade between China and the West Indies. In 1868, the Burlingame treaty, destined for an important rôle in international relations, affirmed the right of voluntary migration of Chinese to the United States, but denied them the right of naturalization. A subsequent treaty with China in 1880 established the right to suspend immigration of Chinese laborers, with certain exceptions, for specified periods of time. The Chinese exclusion laws of 1882[6] and 1884[7] definitely fixed the period at ten years. Their provisions were renewed in 1892[8] and again in 1904,[9] to remain in force until replaced by other legislation.

By 1906 the question of Japanese immigration had become acute in the western states, and in that year the demand was made for legislation similar to the Chinese exclusion acts, in order to prevent the entrance of Japanese laborers. In the immigration law of 1907[10] a provision was inserted to the effect that the

[1] 26 Stat. L., p. 1084.
[2] 32 Stat. L., pt. 1, p. 1213.
[3] 34 Stat. L., pt. 1, p. 898.
[4] 36 Stat. L., pt. 1, p. 825.
[5] 12 Stat. L., p. 340.
[6] 22 Stat. L., p. 58.
[7] 23 Stat. L., p. 115.
[8] 27 Stat. L., p. 25.
[9] 33 Stat. L., p. 428.
[10] 34 Stat. L., pt. 1, p. 898.

President might refuse admission to any aliens making use of passports to the insular possessions, the Canal Zone or any country other than the United States in order to gain admission to continental United States. The President took advantage of this provision and by proclamation excluded

> "Japanese or Korean laborers, skilled and unskilled, who have received passports to go to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii and come therefrom."

By the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907 between the United States and Japan, the two governments were to cooperate to secure the effective enforcement of this regulation. Japan was to continue her existing policy of discouraging emigration of her nationals and was to issue passports only to non-laborers, or to laborers who were "former residents" of the United States, "parents, wives or children of residents" and "settled agriculturists."

In 1917, effective measures[1] were taken to check the threatened influx of East Indian laborers, which would have eventually created another serious and complex problem. On this occasion the so-called "barred zone" was established, natives of which were to be excluded from entering the United States as laborers. The zone includes India, Siam, Indo-China, parts of Siberia, Afghanistan and Arabia, the islands of Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, Borneo, New Guinea, Celebes and various lesser groups, and has an estimated population of 500,000,000. The act provides that where exclusion is "provided for by existing treaties," the geographical exclusion is not applicable; hence, China is not within its scope. Japan likewise comes under this exemption by reason of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907, although she is within the latitude and longitude of the barred zone.

Recent Legislation

Even before the beginning of the twentieth century, sentiment in the United States was growing in favor of a limitation in the number of immigrants, in addition to the exclusion of certain undesirable classes and races. The literacy test was first suggested in 1892 as a logical method of obtaining this result. In 1896, President Cleveland vetoed an immigration bill because of its inclusion of a literacy test. He objected to such a radical departure from the previous policy of welcoming all

[1] 39 Stat. L., pt. 1, p. 874 (Sec. 3).

who came, and denied that the really undesirable immigrants would be kept out by such a test, as the supporters of the bill claimed. The United States Immigration Commission, after a three-year investigation, in 1910 recommended the reading and writing test, and the exclusion of those unable to read or write simple words in some language, as the "most feasible single method" of restricting undesirable immigration.[1] As a result of this recommendation, Congress in 1910 again attempted to pass a bill limiting the volume of immigration, with the so-called literacy test as the chief means of exclusion. The bill, known as the Dillingham-Burnett Bill, was vetoed by President Taft. In spite of this setback a similar bill was twice introduced, and the second time was passed over President Wilson's veto.

The Act of 1917

This act of February 5, 1917[2] repealed the laws of 1903 and 1907, and all prior acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the new law. It was drawn up in the light of extensive past experience, and represented considerable study and preparation. Most of its provisions are still in force, since the Per Centum Limit Act of May 19, 1921 is supplementary to it. The outstanding provisions of the Immigration Act of 1917, in brief, are as follows:

1. A head tax of $8 is imposed. Children under sixteen years of age accompanying their father or mother are not required to pay the tax. This latter provision amounts to a discrimination in favor of men with families.

2. The principal classes excluded are:

> Feeble-minded, insane, or mentally or physically diseased or defective persons; paupers, vagrants, criminals, polygamists, anarchists, immoral persons; contract laborers, persons who have come in consequence of advertisements for laborers printed, published, or distributed in a foreign country; persons likely to become a public charge; persons who have been deported under any of the provisions of this Act, and who may again seek admission within one year from the date of such deportation, unless prior to their reembarkation at a foreign port or their attempt to be admitted from foreign contiguous territory the Secretary of Labor shall have consented to their reapplying for admission; persons whose tickets or passage is paid for with the money of another, or who are assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown that such persons do not belong to

[1] U. S. Reports of the Immigration Commission, *op. cit*, Vol. 1, p. 48.
[2] 39 Stat. L., pt. 1, p. 874.

one of the foregoing excluded classes; persons whose ticket or passage is paid for by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign government, either directly or indirectly; stowaways, except that any such stowaway, if otherwise admissible, may be admitted in the discretion of the Secretary of Labor; all children under sixteen years of age, unaccompanied by or not coming to one or both of their parents, except that any such children may, in the discretion of the Secretary of Labor, be admitted if in his opinion they are not likely to become a public charge and are otherwise eligible; unless otherwise provided for by existing treaties, persons from certain barred zones, except government officials and their suites, families or guests, ministers or religious teachers, missionaries, lawyers, physicians, chemists, civil engineers, teachers, students, authors, artists, merchants, and travelers for curiosity or pleasure, or their legal wives or their children under sixteen years of age.

After three months from the passage of this Act, in addition to the aliens who were by law then excluded from admission into the United States, all persons are excluded who fail to pass a specified literacy test, with the following exceptions: Those seeking admission to the United States to avoid religious persecution; all aliens who have been lawfully admitted to the United States and who have resided therein continuously for five years and who return to the United States within six months from the date of their departure therefrom; all aliens in transit through the United States; all aliens who have been lawfully admitted to the United States and who later shall go in transit from one part of the United States to another through foreign contiguous territory. Nothing in this Act excludes, if otherwise admissible, persons convicted, or who admit the commission, or who teach or advocate the commission, of an offence purely political. Skilled labor, if otherwise admissible, may be imported if labor of like kind unemployed cannot be found in this country, and the question of the necessity of importing such skilled labor in any particular instance may be determined by the Secretary of Labor upon the application of any person interested, such application to be made before such importation, and such determination by the Secretary of Labor to be reached after a full hearing and an investigation into the facts of the case. Aliens returning after a temporary absence to an unrelinquished United States domicile of seven consecutive years may be admitted in the discretion of the Secretary of Labor, and under such conditions as he may prescribe.

3. Steamship companies are made liable to fines of $25 in some cases and $200 in others for bringing to the United States any persons belonging to one of the excluded classes. The companies are also made responsible for the return passage of such persons.

4. Repeating a provision of the law of 1907 (Sec. 39) the President is authorized to call an international conference to

regulate by international agreement, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate, the immigration of aliens to the United States; to provide for inspection of immigrants abroad; and to secure the cooperation of foreign governments in preventing evasion of United States laws governing immigration.

Other provisions of the law have as their objective chiefly the correction of faulty features in previous legislation. The law considerably strengthened the powers of enforcement and made possible for the first time a consistent as well as rigid regulation of immigration.

The Per Centum Limit Act of 1921

The immigration crisis in this country would probably have been considered as adequately met by the safeguards provided by the 1917 act, had the World War not brought in its wake an upheaval of existing conditions. National fear of an influx of war-stricken aliens, however, changed a passive attitude toward immigration into one of alarm. Bills relating to immigration were introduced into Congress in fairly rapid succession, until in May, 1921, the Per Centum Limit Act[1] was passed, to remain effective until June 30, 1922. The chief provisions of this act are:

1. That the number of aliens of any nationality who may be admitted into the United States in any fiscal year shall be limited to 3% of the number of foreign born persons of such nationality resident in the United States, as shown by the Census of 1910.

2. That the number of aliens of any nationality admitted in a given month shall not exceed 20% of the total annual quota for that nationality.

3. That nationality shall be determined by country of birth, as specified in a statement prepared by the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor, showing the nativity of the 1910 population of the United States on the basis of present political entities.

4. That the law shall be in addition to existing immigration laws and shall affect only the countries not otherwise provided for in those laws. In effect, therefore, it is applicable only to Europe, parts of Siberia, Persia, Africa, Australia, New Zea-

[1]Stat. Annotated, Supp. 1921, p. 106.

land, the territory formerly comprising Asiatic Turkey and certain islands of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

5. That the law shall not apply to aliens of the following classes: Government officials, their families, attendants, servants and employees; aliens in transit through the United States, or from one part of the United States to another through foreign contiguous territory; tourists or temporary visitors for business or pleasure; aliens under the age of eighteen who are children of citizens of the United States; aliens who have resided continuously for at least one year immediately preceding the time of their admission to the United States in any part of the American continent or adjacent islands.

6. That the following classes of aliens shall be counted against a yearly or monthly quota so long as the quota is not exhausted, but may be admitted after such quota is exhausted: Aliens returning from a temporary visit abroad, aliens who are professional actors, artists, lecturers, singers, nurses, ministers of any religious denomination, professors in colleges or seminaries, aliens belonging to any recognized learned profession, or aliens employed as domestic servants.

7. That preference shall be given as far as possible to the wives, parents, brothers, sisters, children under eighteen years of age, and fiancées (1) of citizens of the United States, (2) of aliens now in the United States who have applied for citizenship, or (3) of persons eligible for United States citizenship who served in the military or naval forces of the United States at any time between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, both dates inclusive, and who have been separated from such forces under honorable conditions.

8. That the Commissioner General of Immigration, with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, shall prescribe rules and regulations to carry the provisions of the act into effect, and shall publish monthly statements showing the status of the quotas of the various nationalities, until 75% of the maximum number admissible of any nationality is exhausted, after which a weekly statement shall be issued.

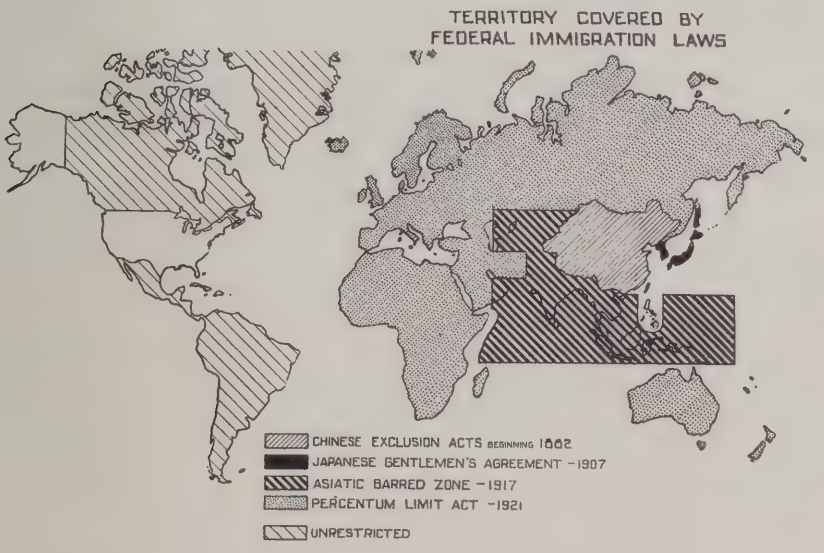
The Act of May 19, 1921 expired by limitation on June 30, 1922, but under a joint resolution of Congress, approved May 11, 1922,[1] its operation was extended to June 30, 1924. The

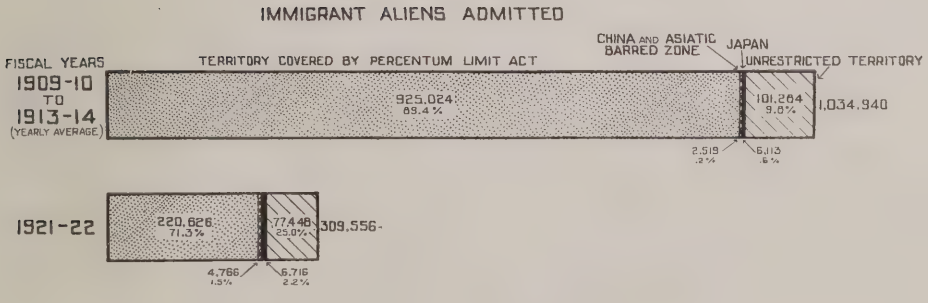
[1]H. J. Res. 268, 67th Congress. 2nd Session.

joint resolution further amended the law by imposing on transportation companies a fine of $200 for each alien brought to the United States in violation of the act and, as an additional penalty, requires the offending company to refund the passage money of each alien unlawfully brought in excess of the quota. It also requires, for aliens applying for admission from other parts of the American continent or adjacent islands, a previous continuous residence of five years instead of one.

Chart 6 shows the areas covered by the federal immigration laws.

CHART 6: AREAS COVERED BY FEDERAL IMMIGRATION LAWS AND NUMBERS ADMITTED FROM EACH, FIVE-YEAR PRE-WAR AVERAGE AND FISCAL YEAR 1922


TERRITORY COVERED BY FEDERAL IMMIGRATION LAWS
CHINESE EXCLUSION ACTS BEGINNING 1882
JAPANESE GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT - 1907
ASIATIC BARRED ZONE - 1917
PERCENTUM LIMIT ACT - 1921
UNRESTRICTED



Summary

From the above brief outline of a century of immigration legislation the following outstanding features appear: The gradual removal of supervision of immigration from state control, culminating in the United States Supreme Court decision of 1876; the increasing recognition of immigration as a national problem, and the development of a highly specialized federal immigration department to administer the laws; the increase of the head tax from fifty cents in 1882 to eight dollars by the law of 1917, so as to take care of the growing expenses of administering immigration laws and to serve as a slight restriction against numbers of immigrants; improvement of steerage conditions by legislation to eliminate much of the danger and discomfort of steerage transportation; finally, and most important, growth of the sentiment against admitting socially and economically undesirable aliens into the country, resulting in legislation which began in 1875 with the exclusion of prostitutes, Oriental contract laborers and criminals convicted of offenses other than political, and increased in the severity of its provisons until by 1917 an elaborate barrier had been raised against mental, physical and moral undesirables of all classes, with a literacy test as a further safeguard against the threatened influx of low-standard unskilled labor.

The Per Centum Limit Act of 1921 is of significance in that for the first time in the history of immigration legislation in the United States it introduced as the basis of restriction a numerical ratio of admissibles to persons of the same nativity already here.

IV

THE PER CENTUM LIMIT ACT IN OPERATION

Purposes of the Per Centum Limit Act

In order to form an adequate estimate of the effects of the Per Centum Limit Act it is essential to understand the points of view leading to its enactment and the general policy which it embodies. In the light of these, the situation as regards the numbers, races, occupations and other characteristics of the persons entering and leaving during the first two years of the law's operation should be considered, and this situation should be studied in relation to economic and social conditions here and abroad, so as to secure an idea not only of the past effects of the law but of its probable future operation.

Congressional debates preceding the passage of the law indicate that the main arguments influencing its adoption were: (1) The nation's inability to assimilate, socially or industrially, the number and kind of immigrants arriving from war-stricken Europe; and (2) the need of setting up restrictions which should apply chiefly to the immigration from southern and eastern Europe.[1]

To strengthen these two main arguments it was pointed out that a restriction of immigration would hasten the assimilation of the aliens already in the country, would retard the spread of radicalism, would protect the American laborer from the competition of foreign labor, would relieve the unemployment crisis which followed the depression of 1920, and would enable the immigration authorities more thoroughly to enforce the provisions of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917. The formulation of the law was especially influenced by the theory that the Nordic races were inherently superior to those from southern and eastern Europe, that the war had diminished the physical and moral fitness of the latter for American citizenship and that the latter were the chief source of difficulty in the administration of the existing immigration laws. Largely for these reasons a restriction by quota was determined upon as the most convenient

[1]See debates in 67th Congress. 1st Session. *Congressional Record.* Vol. 61, Parts 1 and 2, April 20, 1921, to June 20, 1921.

method of reducing the volume of undesirables, and the 1910 census was used as the basis, since the proportion of natives of northern and western Europe residing in the United States in that year was greater than that in 1920.

The law of 1921 was supplementary to the law of 1917, which still remained in force. The 1917 law was restrictive in that it provided for the exclusion of all moral, physical and mental defectives, all "alien anarchists" and other classes described on page 61. The primary purpose of the Per Centum Limit Act was further to restrict immigration by limiting especially the number of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe.

According to the Commissioner General of Immigration, economic reasons have played little part in the debates leading to the adoption of restrictive immigration laws during the last quarter of a century. Restriction has been urged primarily because it was feared that a large increase in immigration from the new sources, due to conditions in Europe, would affect the fundamental character of the population and endanger cherished institutions.[1]

Results of First Year's Numerical Restriction

A study of the statistics of immigration and emigration during the year ended June 30, 1922,[2] reveals some interesting facts about the operation of the new law. In presenting these figures it has not been possible to confine the discussion to the countries affected by the quota regulations, or to compare the numbers admitted under quota with statistics of previous years, because comparable statistics are not available. Except where the quota figures are specifically mentioned, the total immigration for the year refers to the 309,556 persons who were classified as immigrant aliens on entering.

Numbers and Nationalities Admitted

A noticeable change has taken place in the total number of immigrants admitted. In Chart 1, showing the long-time trend of immigration, it was seen that the 1921-22 figure dropped suddenly almost to the level of the war years. Table 9 gives the number of aliens admitted under the quota limitations, with

[1]Husband, W. W. "Immigration Under the Per Centum Limit Law." In: *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 49th Annual Session, Providence, R. I., June 22 to 29, 1922, p. 459.

[2]Compiled from the Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922.

the full quota for each country and the per cent of the quota exhausted.[1]

[1]Certain minor changes in the quotas for the year 1922-23 will make the total admissible 357,803.

TABLE 9: IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE PER CENTUM LIMIT ACT, FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1922*

Country or place of birth	Total admissible during fiscal year 1922[a]	Number admitted and charged to quota during the fiscal year 1922[b]	Per cent of quota admitted[d]
Belgium	1,563	1,581	101.2
Denmark	5,694	3,284	57.6
France	5,729	4,343	75.9
Germany	68,059	19,053	28.0
Netherlands	3,607	2,408	66.8
Norway	12,202	5,941	48.7
Sweden	20,042	8,766	43.8
Switzerland	3,752	3,723	99.2
United Kingdom	77,342	42,670	55.2
Luxemburg	92	93	101.1
Northern and western Europe	198,082	91,862	46.4
Albania	288	280	97.0
Austria	7,451	4,797	64.4
Bulgaria	302	301	99.6
Czechoslovakia	14,282	14,248	99.8
Danzig	301	85	28.2
Finland	3,921	3,038	77.5
Fiume	71	18	25.3
Greece	3,294	3,447	104.7
Hungary	5,638	6,035	107.2
Italy	42,057	42,149	100.2
Poland (including eastern Galicia)	25,827	26,129	101.1
Portugal (including Azores and Madeira Islands)	2,520	2,486	98.6
Rumania	7,419	7,429	100.1
Russia (including Siberia)	34,284	28,908	84.4
Spain	912	888	97.4
Jugoslavia	6,426	6,644	103.5
Armenia	1,589	1,574	99.0
Palestine	56	214	382.1
Syria	906	1,008	111.2
Turkey (Europe and Asia, including Smyrna District)	656	1,096	166.9
Southern and eastern Europe and Asiatic Turkish Territory	158,200	150,774	95.3

TABLE 9: IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE PER CENTUM LIMIT ACT, FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1922* —*continued*

Country or place of birth	Total admissible during fiscal year 1922[a]	Number admitted and charged to quota during the fiscal year 1922[b]	Per cent of quota admitted[d]
Other Europe	86	144	167.4
Other Asia	81	528	651.9
Africa	122	195	159.8
Australia	279	279	100.0
New Zealand	54	75	138.9
Atlantic Islands (other than Azores, Madeira, and islands adjacent to the American continents)	65	83	127.7
Pacific Islands (other than New Zealand and islands adjacent to the American continents)	26	13	50.0
"Other" total	713	1,317	184.7
Grand total, under Per Centum Limit Act	356,995	243,953[c]	68.3

*Source: U. S. Bureau of Immigration. Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1922, p. 5.

[a]The quotas here given differ in some instances from the figures as originally published, the differences being due to the inclusion of the foreign born population of Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico in a revision of the basic population.

[b]Subject to possible slight revision due to pending cases in which additional admissions chargeable to the quotas of the fiscal year 1921-22 may occur.

[c]The total number of admissions counted against the quota includes aliens returning from a temporary visit abroad who are elsewhere classed as non-immigrants. The total immigration for the year (309,556) excludes all non-immigrants.

[d] There were 2,508 admissions in excess of quotas, representing, according to the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, "a theoretically temporary disposition of cases in which absolute and immediate rejection would have inflicted great hardship on innocent immigrants."

The quota restriction was intended to admit more immigrants from the ten northern and western European countries than from all other countries under quota. Yet scarcely more than one-third of the European immigration came from this old source.[1] More Japanese and Chinese immigrant aliens entered the country than a quota restriction would have admitted.[2] The terms under which they were admitted tended, however, to make them a carefully selected group.

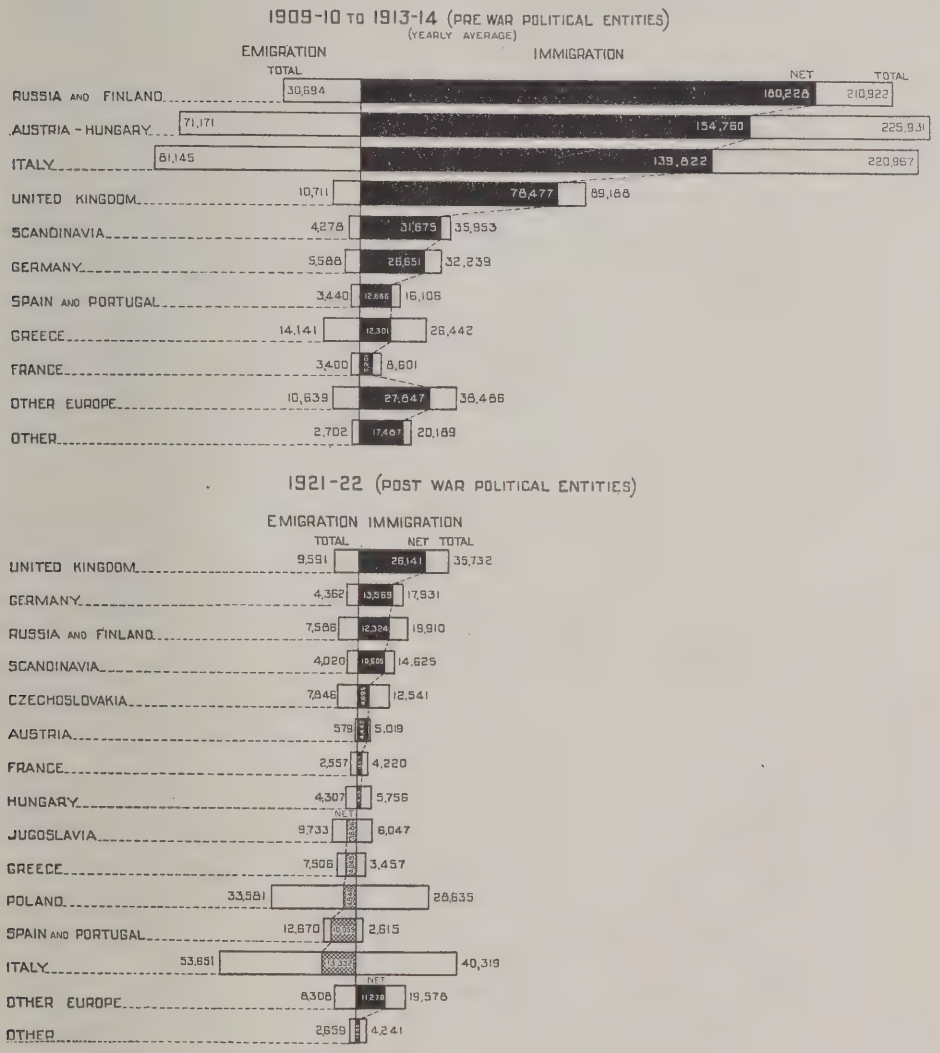
Net Immigration

Some significant figures are obtained by comparing the immigration from certain countries with the emigration from the United States to those countries during the same period. Table 10 and Chart 7 show the changes in the numbers coming

[1]36.4% from the "old" sources and 63.6% from the "new."

[2]2,032 Japanese would have been admissible; 6,361 immigrants and 6,476 non-immigrants were admitted. 1,703 Chinese would have been admissible; 4,465 immigrants and 8,755 non-immigrants were admitted.

CHART 7: IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, ACTUAL AND NET, FOR PRINCIPAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, FIVE-YEAR PRE-WAR AVERAGE AND FISCAL YEAR 1922



from and returning to the principal countries covered by the Per Centum Limit Act. The average annual net immigration for these countries during the five years preceding the war was 687,115, compared with 51,670 during the first year of the percentage restrictions.[1]

[1]Total net immigration will be much higher for 1922-23. By March 31, 1923, after nine months of the fiscal year had elapsed, the countries listed showed a net immigration of 198,878.

TABLE 10: IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, COUNTRIES COVERED BY PER CENTUM LIMIT ACT*

Country of last or future permanent residence	Yearly average, fiscal years 1909-10 to 1913-14			Fiscal year 1921-22		
	Immigrant aliens	Emigrant aliens	Net immigration	Immigrant aliens	Emigrant aliens	Net[a] immigration
Austria–Hungary	225,931	71,171	154,760	.....	.....	.....
Czechoslovakia	.....	.....	.....	12,541	7,846	4,695
Jugoslavia	.....	.....	.....	6,047	9,733	–3,686
Austria	.....	.....	.....	5,019	579	4,440
Hungary	.....	.....	.....	5,756	4,307	1,449
Italy	220,967	81,145	139,822	40,319	53,651	–13,332
Russia and Finland	210,922	30,694	180,228	19,910	7,586	12,324
Poland	.....	.....	.....	28,635	33,581	–4,946
United Kingdom	89,188	10,711	78,477	35,732	9,591	26,141
Scandinavia	35,953	4,278	31,675	14,625	4,020	10,605
Germany	32,239	5,588	26,651	17,931	4,362	13,569
Greece	26,442	14,141	12,301	3,457	7,506	–4,049
Spain and Portugal	16,106	3,440	12,666	2,615	12,670	–10,055
France	8,601	3,400	5,201	4,220	2,557	1,663
Other Europe[b]	38,486	10,639	27,847	19,578	8,308	11,270
Other[c]	20,189	2,702	17,487	4,241	2,659	1,582
Total	925,024	237,909	687,115	220,626	168,956	51,670

*Source: U. S. Bureau of Immigration. Compiled from Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration.

[a]Minus (–) sign denotes net emigration.

[b]Including Belgium, Bulgaria, Netherlands, Rumania, Switzerland, Turkey in Europe and "other" Europe.

[c]Including Turkey in Asia, "Other Asia," (exclusive of China, Japan and India), Africa, Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand, Pacific Islands and "other countries."

The countries listed in Table 11 are the quota countries for which there was an excess of emigrants over immigrants in 1921-1922. The 1920-1921 figures are given for comparison.

TABLE 11: QUOTA COUNTRIES SHOWING NET EMIGRATION IN 1921-1922*

Country of last or future permanent residence[a]	Net immigration (+) or Net emigration (—)[b]	
	1920–1921	1921–1922
Bulgaria	— 2,338	— 363
Greece	+ 15,079	— 4,049
Italy (including Sicily and Sardinia)	+174,068	—13,332
Poland	+ 52,517	— 4,946
Portugal	+ 14,028	— 3,927
Spain (including Canary and Balearic Islands)	+ 19,852	— 6,128
Jugoslavia (Serb, Croat and Slovene Kingdom)	+ 10,502	— 3,686

*Source: U. S. Bureau of Immigration. Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1922, p. 26.

[a]The quotas are based on country of *birth*. These figures, therefore, are not strictly comparable with quota statistics. Some of the immigrants giving Poland as last permanent residence, for instance, were charged to the Russian quota.

[b]Obtained by subtracting the immigrants arriving from the emigrants departing. Non-immigrant and non-emigrant aliens are excluded.

The changes noted are due almost entirely to the restriction of immigration by the Per Centum Limit Act, for the emigration movement was practically normal, except, perhaps, for the great numbers returning to Poland "to share in the glories of the new country."[1]

A more extended analysis of the net immigration over a period of years is included in Table A, in the Appendix, where the figures are given by races or peoples. The races in which the previous trend of immigration has been reversed by the Per Centum Limit Act can be determined by comparing the "net" column for 1922 with that for the whole period since 1908. The northern and southern Italians, for instance, had a large net immigration for the years preceding the war, making the totals for the fiscal years 1908 to 1922 inclusive show large net immigration. But the situation was sharply reversed in 1922, when there was a net emigration for both groups, due to the reduced immigration. The Poles have shown a large net emigration since 1920 in contrast with a large net immigration preceding the war. Chart 4 on page 15 illustrates this reversal.

It must be remembered that net immigration according to country of last or future permanent residence, or country of birth, would show somewhat different results from that according to race.[2] On either basis, however, it seems clear that, without the restriction of the quota law, immigration would no doubt have exceeded emigration for many countries where a net emigration was indicated for 1921-1922.

In short, these comparisons show that in the first full year of its operation the Per Centum Limit Act considerably reduced the total number of immigrants admitted. The reduction affected all of the southern and eastern European countries except Russia and Austria, and two of the smaller northwestern countries, Belgium and Switzerland.

The total number of immigrant aliens admitted from all countries during the fiscal year 1921-1922 represented slightly more than one-third of the number admitted during the previous fiscal year. The number admitted under quota in 1921-1922 represented, however, only 68.3% of the ag-

[1]Husband, W. W. In: U. S. House of Representatives. Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. Hearings, "Immigration for Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1922." 67th Congress, 2nd Session, Washington, August 22, 1922. Serial 6-B, p. 595.

[2]Figures for Poland and Russia, for instance, include members of the Hebrew race (who show a general tendency to remain in the United States) and would, therefore, indicate a smaller net emigration than the figures for the Polish or Russian races. In fact, Russia showed a net immigration of 10,736 during 1922, compared with a net *emigration* of 405 for the Russian race.

gregate quota allowed under the Per Centum Limit Act. Of the more important northern and western European countries, only Belgium and Switzerland exhausted their quotas; the group as a whole filled about 46% of its entire quota. Of the larger southern and eastern European quotas, those of Russia and Austria alone failed to approach exhaustion. Over 95% of the quota for this group of countries was exhausted.[1]

The act therefore kept out many immigrants of the less desired races, and placed high quotas for certain countries which did not fill them.[2] According to the United States Commissioner General of Immigration at least 500,000 immigrants of all kinds were kept out of the United States during 1921-1922 by reason of the law.[3]

Sex, Age and Literacy

The sex, age and literacy of the immigrants in 1921-1922 are summarized below, with corresponding figures for the departing emigrants.

Sex	*Admitted*	*Departed*
Male	149,741	143,223
Female	159,815	55,489
Age		
Under 16	63,710	9,499
16 to 44	210,164	143,081
45 and over	35,682	46,132

Literacy of immigrants 16 years of age and over	
Could read and write	234,623
Could read but not write	480
Could neither read nor write	10,743

The only races in which male immigrants greatly exceeded female immigrants were the Chinese, Italian, Mexican, Portuguese, Scandinavian, Slovak, Spanish-American and Spanish. The general excess of females in 1921-1922 is in marked contrast to the condition prevailing before the war, and is in part due to the ruling which gives preference to the near relatives of citizens of the United States. From 1899, when immigration figures by race were first available, to 1914, the male immigrants ad-

[1]The normal immigration movement from northern and western Europe before 1914 was about 185,000 annually, from southern and eastern Europe, 750,000. The 1921-22 quotas place no restriction on the former group but reduce the limits for southern and eastern Europe to one-fifth of the normal number. Cf. Husband, W. W. "Immigration Under the Per Centum Limit Law." In: *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 49th Annual Session, Providence, Rhode Island, June 22 to 29, 1922, p. 460.

[2]During the first nine months of the fiscal year 1922-23 only the Scandinavian countries and Germany, among the northwestern European countries, had filled less than three-fourths of their quotas. The entire northwestern group had sent about 45,000 more immigrants during these nine months than during the entire fiscal year 1921-22.

[3]Husband, W. W., "*Immigration Under the Percentum Limit Law*," *op. cit.*, p. 460.

mitted were more than twice the number of the female immigrants.[1]

Comparing admissions with departures for 1922, it is clear that there was a net gain of only 6,518 males and of 104,326 females, a net loss of 10,450 individuals over 45 years of age, and a gain of 121,294 in the number under 45. There were 10,743 exemptions from the literacy test, chiefly made in order that immigrants might enter to join relatives. About one-half of all those who came paid for their own passage; the other half had their passage paid by relatives or friends.

Occupations

Table 12 shows the occupations of immigrants and emigrants in the first year of the law's operation.

TABLE 12: OCCUPATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS AND EMIGRANTS, 1921–22*

Occupation	Immigrant aliens[a] admitted 1921-22		Emigrant aliens[a] departed 1921-22	
	Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total
Professional	10,955	3.5	3,313	1.7
Skilled labor	51,588	16.7	17,958	9.0
Farmers and farm laborers	18,205	5.9	7,726	3.9
Common labor	32,726	10.6	100,058	50.3
Miscellaneous occupations	65,032	21.0	14,713	7.4
No occupation	131,050	42.3	54,944	27.7
Total	309,556	100.0	198,712	100.0

*Source: U. S. Bureau of Immigration. Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1922, pp. 30, 31.

[a]For immigrants, this classification is based on the occupation given for the country of last residence; the classification for emigrants departing is based on the occupation stated to have been followed while in the United States.

Nearly three times as many common laborers left the United States in 1921-1922 as were admitted. Comparing the total of all but the professional and "no occupation" groups, the net increase was only 27,096.

Tables 13 and 14 indicate (1) the occupational distribution of arriving immigrants and (2) the net gain in each group over a period of years. This net gain, obtained by subtracting the emigration from the immigration of each occupational group, is not an entirely reliable figure[2] since the two groups compared are not entirely similar.

[1]Of the total, 68.3% were males; 31.7% females.

[2]The occupational figures for immigrants and emigrants are not strictly comparable, as was pointed out in the footnote to Table 12. Immigrants who were farm laborers in the country of last residence may leave this country as common laborers, for instance.

TABLE 13: OCCUPATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS, 1910-1922*

Occupations	1910–1914 Average		1915–1919 Average		1919–1920		1920–1921		1921–1922	
	Number	Per cent of total immig'n	Number	Per cent of total immig'n	Number	Per cent of total immig'n	Number	Per cent of total immig'n	Number	Per cent of total immig'n
Professional	12,425	1.2	8,262	3.5	12,442	2.9	14,592	1.8	10,955	3.5
Skilled labor	149,559	14.5	39,797	17.0	69,967	16.3	131,774	16.4	51,588	16.7
Farmers and farm laborers	262,770	25.4	21,978	9.4	27,449	6.4	54,682	6.8	18,205	5.9
Common labor	190,684	18.4	37,638	16.0	81,732	19.0	160,564	19.9	32,726	10.6
Miscellaneous occupations[a]	148,603	14.4	40,981	17.5	65,278	15.2	142,475	17.7	65,032	21.0
No occupations[b]	270,899	26.1	85,880	36.6	173,133	40.2	301,141	37.4	131,050	42.3
Total immigration	1,034,940	100.0	234,536	100.0	430,001	100.0	805,228	100.0	309,556	100.0

*Source: U. S. Bureau of Immigration. Compiled from Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration.
[a]Largely servants. [b]Includes women and children.

TABLE 14: NET IMMIGRATION OR NET EMIGRATION (−), BY OCCUPATIONS, 1910-1922*

Occupations	1910–1914 Average		1915–1919 Average		1919–1920		1920–1921		1921–1922	
	Number	Per cent of total net immig'n	Number	Per cent of total net immig'n	Number	Per cent of total net immig'n	Number	Per cent of total net immig'n	Number	Per cent of total net immig'n
Professional	9,422	1.3	5,950	5.4	9,063	6.4	11,170	2.0	7,642	6.8
Skilled labor	118,026	15.8	25,666	23.1	49,185	34.7	110,323	19.8	33,630	30.4
Farmers and farm laborers	251,323	33.6	17,468	15.8	13,433	9.5	42,104	7.5	10,479	9.5
Common labor	22,510	3.0	−30,358	−27.4[c]	−102,088	−72.1[c]	25,357	4.5	−67,332	−60.8[c]
Miscellaneous occupations[a]	125,759	16.9	28,105	25.3	47,401	33.5	125,146	22.4	50,319	45.4
No occupations[b]	219,322	29.4	64,058	57.8	124,692	88.0	243,410	43.8	76,106	68.7
Total net immigration	746,362	100.0	110,891	100.0[c]	141,686	100.0[c]	557,510	100.0	110,844	100.0[c]

*Source: U. S. Bureau of Immigration. Compiled from Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration.
[a]Largely servants. [b]Includes women and children.
[c]Where net *emigration* is expressed as a percentage of total *net immigration*, it must be subtracted from the five other groups to get the correct total of 100%.

Considering first immigration figures only, the professional group, the skilled laborers and the miscellaneous group show least change in their proportion to the total, although the actual numbers in each group have greatly decreased since the pre-war period. The farming group decreased from a pre-war average representing 25.4% of the total immigration to 5.9% in 1921-1922. It is significant that this decrease began during the war period and was emphasized, but not caused, by the Per Centum Limit Act. The proportion of common laborers took a decided drop in 1921-1922. The proportion of immigrants with no occupations, which began to increase during the war, reached its high point (42.3%) in 1921-1922.

The figures for net immigration indicate a still more marked change, because the number and proportion of the departing emigrants remained approximately stationary, while the total immigration of all groups showed great changes. By considering the net immigration or emigration of each group in its relation to the total net gain by immigration, it is found that the relative size of the professional group rose from 1.3% to 6.8% of the total population gained; skilled labor, from 15.8% to 30.4%; miscellaneous occupations, from 16.9% to 45.4%; no occupations, from 29.4% to 68.7%. Farm labor was reduced from 33.6% of the total to 9.5%. Common labor, in pre-war years 3% of the total gain, represented in 1922 an actual loss equal to 60.8% of the entire number gained. As in Table 13, the figures in Table 14 show that the changes in distribution first became apparent during the war and that in 1920-21 there was some tendency to return to the pre-war distribution, which was checked by the Per Centum Limit Act in 1921-1922.

Immigrants classified as skilled and common labor or farm labor and as having "miscellaneous occupations" are more likely to change their classifications after arrival than the professional and "no occupation" classes. Totals for the first four groups are probably more comparable, therefore, than figures for any single group. During the five years from 1910 to 1914, 69.3% (517,618) of the average net gain was for these four classes, compared with 24.4% (27,096) during 1921-1922.

Comparisons of actual numbers show that the net immigration of farm labor was about twenty-five times as large in the period

from 1910 to 1914 as it was in 1922, and that the net loss in common labor during 1922 was three times as great as the average net gain before the war.

Destination

In 1921-1922 the following states each received over ten thousand immigrants: California, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Texas. In general, the southern states and those west of the Mississippi attracted fewest immigrants. The ranks of the forty-eight states, based on total number of immigrants giving each as their destination, have changed but little since the pre-war period. There is a noticeable decrease in net immigration to all the states, however, due to the effect of the quota restrictions.

In the states listed above, the outward and inward movement of aliens is always heavy. Those showing the highest net immigration for 1921-1922 were also those from which the largest number of emigrants departed. West Virginia, the only state showing a net emigration, had a relatively small number either coming or going during the year.

Probable Course of Immigration During 1922-1923

There are indications that the character of immigration during 1922-1923 may differ considerably from that of the preceding year. Detailed figures are available from July, 1922 through March, 1923. During these nine months the total immigration from all sources was 373,511 and the emigration 65,775. During the same months of the preceding year immigration was 241,644 and emigration 160,918. The recent immigration is also contributing at least something to the industrial forces of the country, as indicated by Table 15.

More than 60% of the European quotas had been filled by December 31, 1922. Fifteen countries had already exhausted their annual quotas. Six countries had a balance of less than fifty persons each on that date. On the other hand, ten countries had used less than one-half of their quotas.

Since the quota figures are kept strictly up to date, statistics are available through May 9, 1923. By that time 312,802 admissions had been charged against the annual quota of 357,803—over 87% of the total number admissible. Of the forty-one

TABLE 15: IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, JULY, 1922 THROUGH MARCH, 1923*

Occupation	Immigration	Emigration	Net gain
Professional	11,816	1,946	9,870
Skilled labor	72,204	6,497	65,707
Farmers and farm laborers	27,178	2,106	25,072
Common labor	57,281	28,090	29,191
Miscellaneous occupations	65,263	7,425	57,838
No occupations	139,769	19,711	120,058
Total	373,511	65,775	307,736
Sex			
Male	212,389	45,140	167,249
Female	161,122	20,635	140,487

*Source: U. S. Bureau of Immigration. Monthly releases.

quotas, twenty-five were exhausted and five had a balance of less than fifty each. Of the eleven remaining quota divisions, only the Esthonian region of Russia had more than half of its quota unfilled. The total balance was 43,578,[1] divided as follows: Austria, 96; Bulgaria, 9; Danzig, 81; Denmark, 1,533; Fiume, 3; France, 1,300; Germany, 31,643; Iceland, 23; Netherlands, 6; Norway 2,285; Poland, 1,945; Esthonian region, 1,135; Latvian region, 94; Sweden, 2,198; United Kingdom, 1,196; Atlantic Islands, 31. During the first ten months of the second year's operation of the Per Centum Limit Act, therefore, a larger percentage of the total quota was exhausted than during the entire twelve months of the preceding year. This was due to the larger number of immigrants from the countries of northwestern Europe, all of which will use a larger proportion of their quotas in 1922-23 than they did during 1921-22.

Effect on Administrative Problems

It will be recalled that one argument in favor of the Per Centum Limit Act was that the amount of immigration ought to be reduced because the Bureau of Immigration found it impossible to handle efficiently the large numbers of immigrants under the former laws, with consequent unfavorable reactions on the immigrants.[2]

[1]After deducting from the annual quota all admissions and pending cases for which quotas had been granted.

[2]Box, John C., Representative from Texas. *Congressional Record*, 67th Congress, 1st Session, Washington, April 20, 1921, Vol. 61, Part I, p. 513.

Up to the present time the problems of examining and caring for immigrants have not been diminished; nor has the number of appeals been greatly reduced.[1] Some of the most bitter attacks upon the present law are due to the frequent cases of hardship which have followed in the wake of the new restrictions. In numerous cases the law is claimed to have operated severely and unfairly. The enforced separation of families and individual cases of injustice should command consideration, partly because of the influence which any official act may have on the immigrant's first impression regarding the United States.

The most fundamental administrative weakness lies in the fact that both the State Department and the Department of Labor are concerned with the immigrant's admission to this country, but they do not work in full cooperation. Every immigrant must hold a passport from his own country visaed by an American consular official. But the passport regulations governing such visas by no means fit the immigration law, which is enforced at the port of entry by the Department of Labor. The State Department consuls have general instructions to refuse visas to "anarchists," and to those who are likely to become public charges. The only other instructions are to give preference to the near relatives of naturalized citizens of the United States.[2] The consuls are not empowered, however, to withold visas from immigrants who may obviously be ineligible under the other provisions of the law.[3] No examination is held abroad to determine mental or physical fitness.

The seriousness of this situation is seen in the number of debarments at the port of entry. The total number for 1921-1922 was 13,731. Each immigrant from overseas paid $10 to an American consul for a visa, passed the steamship doctor's examination, and took the long journey overseas with

[1]U. S. Department of Labor. Tenth Annual Report of the Secretary. Washington, 1922, p. 85. "The so-called quota law...has vastly increased the work of the ports.... Every time a restrictive measure is enacted regarding immigration it increases the labors of those who deal with the immigrant.... In the past year the department handled in a single month sometimes as many appeals as came to the Secretary from the ports in an entire year in bygone days."

[2]This provision has helped to increase rather than decrease the work in consular offices, although the present law was intended to simplify the problem of handling great numbers of visa applications.

[3]Cf. U. S. House of Representatives, 67th Congress, 4th Session. Committee on Foreign Affairs. "Foreign Service of the U. S." Hearings on H. R. 12543. Washington, December, 1922, pp. 83-84; and *Congressional Record*, Washington, February 8, 1923, Vol. 64, No. 58, p. 3338.

the full expectation of being admitted on arriving. Of this number, 1,662 were debarred because they came after the quotas were filled;[1] the rest were excluded under the act of 1917. No visa fees were refunded. The hardship involved for the immigrants, the disappointment of their families and friends here, and the great waste of money, time and effort need hardly be emphasized.

The self-interest of steamship companies has often been blamed for the great number of immigrants who come after the quotas are filled. But the more basic fault must lie with the principle of the law itself. Royal S. Copeland, former Commissioner of Health of the City of New York, and now Senator from the state, observes in this connection: "It is ridiculous to argue that the highest welfare of our country is advanced by fixing a monthly quota for each nation and then leaving it to the steamship companies to determine who shall become citizens of the United States."[2]

Another important fact brought out by Copeland is that physical examinations at quarantine were so inadequate that it was necessary for the city of New York to set up an immigration inspection service of its own to prevent the spread of contagious diseases. The prevalence of disease and famine in Europe, he states, "gives us warning that the immigration question must be dealt with on higher ground than restrictions made simply for economic reasons."[3]

It also appears that insufficient care is taken to detect mental defectives.[4] Tests of intelligence and mentality are used only in a limited number of cases.[5] With scarcely enough facilities for enforcing the selective provisions of the act of 1917, the diversion of attention to the new percentage basis of exclusion has added many new problems of administration.

General Effects of the Law

There is little basis so far for judgment on the broader social effects of the operation of the Per Centum Limit Act. There is

[1]Altogether 2,508 others who came in excess of the quotas were admitted by special orders during 1921-1922.

[2]Copeland, Royal S. In: Chamber of Commerce, State of New York. *Supplement to Monthly Bulletin*, New York, November, 1922, Vol. 14, No. 4, p. 27.

[3]Copeland, Royal S., *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[4]" ....At the majority of the ports of entry a thorough mental and physical examination is impracticable because of the lack of facilities...." Excerpt from a letter dated April 11, 1922, from the Surgeon General of the United States. U. S. Department of Labor. Tenth Annual Report of the Secretary, Washington, 1922, p. 88.

[5]Cf. U. S. House of Representatives. H. R. 476. December 30, 1922, calling for extension of the use of mental tests.

no way in which the relation of the law to radicalism, to labor conditions, to assimilation or to other aspects of the immigration problem could be measured in view of the short period in which the law has operated. It is difficult to estimate, for instance, just how the Per Centum Limit Act could specifically discriminate against "radicals," since it contained no provisions with regard to them, beyond those in the 1917 act. It is equally difficult to estimate how many "anarchists" the law has kept out indirectly. Of 13,731 aliens debarred during 1921–1922, none were rejected as "anarchists or radicals."

Since assimilation implies much more than the mere naturalization of aliens, it is too soon to tell how far restriction has accelerated the assimilation of aliens in the United States. As for naturalization, a recent comprehensive study of Americanization made under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation of New York brought out the fact that much of the responsibility for the slow naturalization of aliens in the United States rests with the Government itself. There appears to be a great need for increased personnel in the Naturalization Bureau, and for simplification and standardization of both the naturalization law and the methods of its administration.[1] It is doubtful whether one year of restricted immigration has done anything to alleviate this need.

Full and impartial study of the whole question of the social effects of immigration needs to be made. Conditions which have arisen since the war interrupted immigration should be compared with previous conditions to find out whether the old statements on this question will hold true. The precise value of the new law in this respect cannot be judged until more time has elapsed.

The United States Commissioner General of Immigration summarizes the results of the first year's operation of the law as follows:

> "The administration of the quota law during its initial year developed many problems, and, especially during the first six months of its operation, greatly overtaxed the machinery of the service and particularly the facilities at Ellis Island; but now that it is possible to review its accomplishments unaffected by its discouragements, I do not hesitate to say that the per centum limit law has accomplished

[1]Gavit, John Palmer. "Americans by Choice." Harper & Bros., New York, 1922. Also a discussion of this book: Ellerbee, Paul Lee. "Red, White and Blue Tape." In: *Survey Graphic*, New York, April 29, 1922, p. 157; and Siegel, Isaac, Representative from New York, *Congressional Record*, Vol. 61, Part 1, April 20, 1921, p. 505.

the purpose for which it was obviously enacted with a degree of success which few anticipated."[1]

In an address before the 49th National Conference of Social Work, the Commissioner General of Immigration comments more fully on the purpose of the law and how far it has been realized: "Those who believe that immigrants of the so-called Nordic stock are preferable to those who come from the new sources will probably agree that there has been a very decided improvement in the character and quality of the movement."[2] He goes on to say that otherwise the law can hardly be said to have contributed greatly toward a constructive immigration policy and adds that the time-honored tradition that the United States is a refuge for the oppressed was deliberately abandoned when the 1917 law was enacted and that it may be surmised that it is the purpose of Congress to base future policies on our needs and not on those of the peoples of foreign lands. In another statement, he says: "When the demand for immigrants comes again, and that demand can be supplied only to a limited extent by southern and eastern Europeans, the inducements will be such as to attract immigrants of the older, or Nordic, stock to the limit permitted by the quota law. If there is a demand which honestly exceeds the available supply, it would seem only right that some provision be made for supplying such excess demands. . . ."[3]

Relation of the Law to Labor Supply

This last statement suggests that one feature of the law's operation upon which attention is centered is its possible relation to the labor supply situation in the United States. Although few arguments for the present law were put on an economic basis at the time the measure was before Congress, public attention in the past year has turned to that aspect of its operation.

There have been repeated assertions that the curtailment of immigration has diminished the supply of labor to the point of

[1]Husband, W. W. "Immigration Under the Per Centum Limit Act." *Monthly Labor Review.* U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, August, 1922, Vol. XV., No. 2, p. 235.

[2]*Ibid.*, "Immigration Under the Per Centum Limit Law." In: *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 49th Annual Session, Providence, R. I., June 22 to 29, 1922.

[3]*Ibid.*, "How the Emergency Immigration Law Has Worked Out." Address before Civic Development Group, Chamber of Commerce of the U. S., Washington, May 17, 1922.

actual shortage; and there have been equally frequent denials of this statement.[1]

In an effort to reduce this question of labor shortage to a more definite basis, the National Industrial Conference Board made an extensive survey designed to show the employment situation as of March 15, 1923. Accurate data were received from 2,332 establishments with a total employment of 874,182 wage earners. These establishments reported 28,389 unfilled positions on that date, due to inability to secure workers. This meant a shortage of 3.15% for the entire group. The firms were divided into two groups for tabulation: (1) 1,004 firms sending wage and employment figures to the National Industrial Conference Board each month; (2) 1,328 members of trade and employers' associations in different industries.

In the first group, the unfilled positions on March 15, 1923 represented 2.42% of the number of workers necessary to operate the plants; the common labor shortage was 3.91%; skilled labor, 1.86%; and female labor, 2.53%. The six large industries reporting the greatest percentages of shortage were: lumber and mill work, 7.34%; electrical manufacturing, 4.52%; foundry and machine shops, 3.89%; silk, 3.10%; iron and steel, 2.69%; agricultural implements, 2.45%.

In the second group, the number of unfilled positions on March 15, 1923 was 3.74% of the total number of potential positions; the common labor shortage, 5.99%; skilled labor, 2.93%; and female labor, 3.26%. The six large industries reporting the greatest shortages were: granite, 15.30%; lumber, 11.27%; foundry and machine shops, 6.39%; furniture, 5.02%; railroad car manufacturing, 4.92%; silk, 4.64%. When these reports were divided geographically it was found that the shortage was most acute in the following states: Ohio, 9.69%; Wisconsin, 7.81%; Connecticut, 7.62%; Iowa, 5.30%; New York, 4.66%; Pennsylvania, 4.47%. Massachusetts, from which the largest number of reports came, showed a shortage of only 1.88%.

[1]Marshall, R. C. Jr. "Will Restrictive Immigration Throttle Industry?" *The Constructor*, Associated General Contractors of America, Washington, November, 1922, Vol. IV, No. 11, pp. 12-13; U. S. House of Representatives. Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. "Immigration and Labor," Hearings, Washington, January, 1923, 67th Congress, 4th Session, Serial 5-C; American Federation of Labor. *Weekly News Service*, Washington, D. C., November 11, 1922, Vol. 12, No. 34; The Labor Bureau, Inc. *Facts for Workers*. New York, November, 1922, Vol. 1, No. 2; *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, No. 4; Hoyem, Oliver. "Immigration and America's Safety." *American Federationist*, Washington, D. C., November, 1922, Vol. XXIX, No. 11, pp. 818-827; *New Republic*. "No Immigrant Flood," New York, December 13, 1922, Vol. XXXIII, No. 419, p. 58; *Christian Science Monitor*. Boston, Mass., January 11, 1923.

Part of this survey by the National Industrial Conference Board included an inquiry addressed to public employment agencies throughout the country. In answer to questions regarding the existence of noticeable or significant labor shortages or surpluses, the 97 replies were distributed as follows:

Reporting shortage only	26
Reporting surplus only	20
Reporting both shortage and surplus	12
Reporting neither shortage nor surplus	39
	97

The shortages were rather evenly divided among skilled labor, farm and common labor, and domestics. The surpluses were most noticeable among clerical workers and transient common labor.

In its summary for March, 1923 the United States Employment Service mentions the increased demand for competent farm labor. "Strong demands for this class of labor are reported from every farming locality and in some sections the present supply cannot take care of the demand. Present indications point to this condition reaching serious proportions in some of the larger agricultural sections of the United States in a short time." Attention is also called to the shortage of building tradesmen and iron and steel workers in certain districts.[1]

The United States Employment Service gathers information on the employment situation which is not easily condensed into statistical form. Since the same cities in each state report general conditions each month, certain conclusions may, however, be drawn.

During the six months from May through October, 1922, shortages were reported with steadily increasing frequency. The usual seasonal decline in employment was noted to a slight extent in November and shortages were not reported quite so frequently during December, January and February. By March, 1923, however, shortages were reported from more than half of the cities covered.

In New York State there are thirteen city reports each month, in addition to a general report for the state. From May through November, 98 reports would have to be taken into account. About two-thirds of these 98 reports indicated shortages in

[1]U. S. Employment Service. *Industrial Employment Information Bulletin.* March, 1923. Vol. III, No. 3.

certain industries, as did 50% or more of the reports during the same period from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, Nevada and Arizona. Shortages were most noticeable in the Middle Atlantic, East North Central and Mountain states.

In general, the same conditions were noted during December, January and February. In addition, a marked surplus of labor was evident in most of the southern and western states, due to the seasonal influx of transient labor.

By March, 1923 the distribution of the shortages was as follows:

District	Total number of reports	Number of reports indicating shortages
New England	77	38
Middle Atlantic	39	35
East North Central	81	56
West North Central	41	21
South Atlantic	44	17
East South Central	31	21
West South Central	20	2
Mountain District	36	19
Pacific District	27	13
Total, United States	396	222

During March the most acute shortages were reported in the building trades, with a marked shortage of farm labor that was expected to grow even more serious with the advance of spring, and a decided shortage in the metal trades, about evenly divided between skilled mechanics and unskilled workmen.

In general, the same cities reported shortages each month. Out of a total number of replies varying from 390 to 404 per month,[1] the following number reported shortages in the months given: May, 1922, 114; June, 114; July, 117; August, 125; September, 131; October, 192; November, 175; December, 119; January, 1923, 126; February, 139; March, 222.

These figures should not be misinterpreted. Unemployment often exists alongside of labor shortage in certain cities. The reports of the United States Employment Service are cited merely to indicate that statements denying the existence of any labor shortage whatever, were not entirely accurate. If the unemployed were not finding their way into industries where

[1]About 355 replies from separate cities, and a general reply for each state.

there were labor shortages, both the shortages and the unemployment continued to exist, whatever the reason. In fact, unemployment exists even under normal industrial conditions, due in part to the fact that there are so many "unemployables,"[1] and to the uneven distribution of workers.

This distribution may be uneven as to locality; certain industries may absorb more than their normal share, at the expense of others;[2] or there may be too many workers of the skilled class and not enough of the unskilled, and vice versa. Workers may remain voluntarily unemployed, too, because the available jobs do not offer wages that are sufficiently attractive.

The relation of the immigration laws to labor shortage, therefore, cannot be accurately gauged without more comprehensive information bearing directly on this question. The replies to the National Industrial Conference Board questionnaire indicate that, in general, at the periods covered, the states most dependent upon immigrant labor in the past felt a labor shortage most acutely and held immigration restriction responsible—in part, if not entirely—for the situation at that time.

The course of business activity will undoubtedly have considerable bearing on the extent and duration of any labor shortage noted. Sufficient time has not elapsed to show whether restricted immigration would, after a period, bring about a permanent shortage of certain types of labor.

Relation of the Law to European Conditions

Character and Causes of Post-War Emigration

It has been pointed out that the passage of the Per Centum Limit Act was influenced by—among other factors—the fear of adverse social and economic effects which might result from the influx of large numbers of immigrants of undesirable types from war-stricken Europe. The character and volume of this post-war rush was, therefore, an important consideration in the formulation and passage of the law. Reports made to the State Department by officials abroad may have strengthened the im-

[1]"The average number of those idle during normal times is about 1,800,000...." National Industrial Conference Board. Research Report No. 43, "The Unemployment Problem." New York, November, 1921, p. 34.

[2]The southern farmers, for instance, are said to be feeling a shortage of negro labor, because the negroes are emigrating to northern industrial centers where high wages are being offered. Cf. *Boston Herald*, December 9, 1922; *Providence Journal*, December 25, 1922; and *Management Engineering*, Ronald Press, New York, December, 1922, Vol. III, No. 6, p. 377.

pression of the possible danger from this source. For instance, word came from Warsaw of 40,000 Jews ready to depart at once for America. They were said to be dirty, sub-normal in mind and body, broken in spirit, and looking simply for "an easy life." From the Russian Caucasus came the report that every Armenian family with enough money (and not thoroughly Bolshevist) would try to go to America; that the Armenians, Jews, Persians and Russians of ordinary classes had suffered so greatly from their hardships since 1914 that they could not be regarded as desirable populations for any country.[1]

In view of warnings like these the advocates of restriction brought forward the Per Centum Limit Bill, as a "temporary measure... that we may have fourteen months' time in which we may perfect the immigration laws and properly fit passport regulations to them."[2] As such, the bill was passed. Now that it has been extended for two years more, the question arises whether the apprehensions that influenced its passage were warranted by the facts regarding emigration tendencies in Europe, and further, whether these conditions still obtain and are likely to continue.

The suddenly increased immigration which followed the war was in part a reaction due to the long interruption to the normal course of immigration. The first to start for America were the oppressed, the poor and the refugees. It was this aspect of the new immigration that excited most comment. Already feeling the beginning of a general business depression, the country was aroused to action by the spectacle of great "hordes" of undesirables coming to share her goods. "Had it not been for the World War it is quite probable that the adoption of the literacy test would have removed immigration from the category of immediate problems. . . Almost overnight mere opposition to immigration changed to alarm; strong advocates of a liberal immigration policy became ardent restrictionists, and seemingly the sentiment of the country was overwhelmingly in favor of total exclusion."[3]

Assuming that the 1917 act would have succeeded in keeping out all the mentally and physically unfit, the general course

[1]Cf. abstracts of consular reports read before Congress, *Congressional Record*, Washington, April 20, 1921, Vol. 61, Part 1, pp. 497 ff.

[2]Johnson, Albert, Representative from Washington. *Congressional Record*, Washington, April 20, 1921, Vol. 61, Part 1, p. 500.

[3]Husband, W. W. "Immigration Under the Per Centum Limit Act." *Monthly Labor Review*, Washington, August, 1922, Vol. XV, No. 2, p. 232.

of immigration after June, 1921, might have been as follows, had the Per Centum Limit Act not gone into effect:

1. England, Germany, France and most of the other northern and western European countries would probably have sent, as they have done in the past two years, less immigrants than their present quotas allow.

2. The number from Italy might have continued very much greater than it is now, as a result of years of suppressed emigration and the economic crises in Europe. But, as in previous periods, emigration from Italy, Spain and Portugal would probably have been checked somewhat by reports of a growing depression in the United States.

3. Great numbers of Jews from Poland, Russia, Rumania, Austria and other countries would probably have continued to come until either the number of refugees was greatly reduced or the countries mentioned had ceased their policies of forcibly expelling the Jewish refugees or granting them temporary accommodation only.[1]

4. As other refugees from the south of Europe and from Asiatic Turkey found themselves in much the same situation as the Jews from Russia, it is likely that the movement toward America from this source would have gradually decreased. The initial impulse to emigrate to America might have received a check because of the growing depression here and also because large numbers had already emigrated immediately after the war.

The trend of immigration, then, might have conformed in most respects to the industrial trend, as it had done in previous periods. A single exception might be made of people fleeing from oppression who found it necessary to have temporary refuge because of political pressure. While the foregoing statements are based on such meager facts as are available, it may be noted that the United States Bureau of Immigration estimated that 500,000 persons were kept out by the Per Centum Limit Act.[2] Even had those 500,000 come in, the total immigration for 1921-1922 would have been well within the pre-war average. The idea that nearly all of Europe was on its way to America was scarcely correct.

[1]In this connection it is interesting to note that a census of Russian refugees in all European countries places the figure at 252,204, although it is claimed that the count was by no means complete. *International Labour Review*, June, 1922, Vol. V, No. 6, p. 966.

[2]Husband, W. W. "Immigration under the Per Centum Limit Law." In: *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 49th Annual Session, Providence, Rhode Island, June 22 to 29, 1922, p. 461.

Present Emigration Policies of European Countries

What might be expected if some of the bars were now let down? The economic factors which are impelling Europeans to emigrate and the course which that emigration is taking in various countries have considerable bearing on the character of the immigration that may be expected in the future. Any current discussion of immigration must take account of the new and well-defined emigration policies of European governments which are "organizing emigration on a business basis,"[1] as a result of the new self-centered policies of the immigration countries.

Europe in General

The indications are that unemployment among wage earners has been steadily decreasing throughout Europe during the past year. The figures which are given are not strictly comparable, but it seems clear that Germany and Belgium, at least, reached in the summer of 1922 the lowest unemployment figures which had been recorded since 1919. The other countries for which figures are available have shown a steady decrease since the beginning of 1922.[2]

The unemployment situation is still a serious factor in certain countries, however, and is to be held responsible, at least in part, for the emigration policies of those countries.

England

The percentage of unemployment in England has been high since the beginning of 1921 and one of her foremost economists, after a study of the 1921 population figures, came to the conclusion that, regardless of what the birth rate may be in the future, there are more than 250,000 new laborers who will enter England's labor market annually in excess of those going out of it.[3] The remedy for England's overpopulation and resultant unemployment is said by many to lie in a well-directed emigration policy. John Maynard Keynes thinks, however, that emigration alone cannot solve the problem and would act rather as "an expensive palliative."

[1]Kellor, Frances. "The Emigration Policies of the Chief European States." In: *Manchester Guardian Commercial*, "Reconstruction in Europe." Sec. 10, Manchester, England, November 16, 1922.

[2]*International Labour Review*, November, 1922, Vol. VI, No. 5, p. 767, and later issues.

[3]Keynes, John Maynard. "An Economist's View of Population." *Manchester Guardian Commercial*, "Reconstruction in Europe." Section 6. Manchester, England, August 17 1922, p. 341.

There has been a definite tendency in England to direct emigration toward the dominions and toward Australia in particular. Viscount Milner, in urging the pursuit of this policy, pointed out that overseas settlement should not be regarded as a means of dealing directly with abnormal unemployment at any given moment, but as a means of remedying fluctuations of trade by developing the country's best markets and permanently minimizing the risk of unemployment.[1] It is interesting to watch the trend of public opinion in Australia as the sentiment in England leans more and more toward emigration in that direction. The Australian government seems anxious to get large numbers of agriculturists to develop its vast country. Agriculturists, however, as may be assumed from experience in the United States, are not easy to get. England wants to keep the best of them. Besides, her labor surplus really exists in the cities. So a situation has developed where the British Labour Party is urging the state to assist in shifting labor "from the place where it cannot be used to the place where it can be used,"[2] and the Australian Labour Party is opposing the plans for increased immigration on the grounds that there is much unemployment in Australian cities.[3] The problem, therefore, is the difficult one of striking a balance between the kind of people England needs least and those Australia needs most. It is significant also that in spite of Australia's desire for immigrants and England's great need of disposing of her excess population, only 13,000 immigrants entered Australia in 1921 as compared with 54,000 in 1913.[4]

Canada, England's other most important outlet, is making the same kind of plea fo r agriculturists to develop her farm lands and is having the same difficulty in securing them. Her recent legislation, planned for this end, has succeeded only in keeping out many of the laborers of other classes and has not resulted in a sufficient supply of farm help.

Little is said in England of using America as an alternative destination for emigrants.

[1]Conference of Prime Ministers and Representatives of the United Kingdom, the Dominions and India. June-July-August, 1921. London, August, 1921. Summary of Proceedings and Documents. Cited in: *International Labour Review*, January, 1922, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 119.
[2]*Ibid.*, p. 122.
[3]*Ibid.*, March, 1922, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 503.
[4]*The Independent*, New York, November 25, 1922, Vol. 109, No. 3830, p. 300.

France

France has practically no emigration problem. Her population has been decreasing for years and she has become one of the immigration countries. Labor shortages in some industries exist in spite of the movement of Polish and Italian workers to France. French employers have cooperated with the Italian and other governments to secure workers.[1]

Germany

In general, Germany's policy is reported to be in favor of restraining emigration,[2] yet there seems to be a great desire to emigrate in spite of the relatively small amount of unemployment. It is reported that in the year ending March 31, 1921, 79,216 requests for information about various countries were received by German federal authorities, from persons proposing to emigrate. More than half of these gave North or South America as their intended destination.[3] Any figures for requests received are, of course, far in excess of the actual emigration, in part due to the unfavorable rate of exchange and to the lack of traveling accommodations. There is evidence of a movement in Germany to educate the nationals who intend to emigrate so as to raise the standard of the Germans who leave for other countries. Traveling exhibitions are held by an association known as the Deutsches Ausland-Institut, showing conditions in foreign countries as they affect German emigrants, models of immigrant hotels at the seaports and of third-class cabins, etc.[4] The University of Hamburg is giving special courses to students who intend to settle abroad.[5] In addition to its activities with regard to emigrants, Germany has at various times taken action with respect to aliens and foreign laborers. Arrangements were made in 1922, for instance, for Poland to send 15,000 agricultural workers into Germany for seasonal work, on condition that the Polish workers be placed under the same working conditions as German laborers of the same grade.[6]

[1] *International Labor Review*, November, 1922, Vol. VI, No. 5, pp. 789 ff.
[2] Riddell, W. A., Director, International Labour Office, Geneva. In: *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 49th Annual Session, Providence, R. I., June 22-29, 1922, p. 492.
[3] *International Labour Review*, February, 1922, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 309, 310.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 311, 312.
[5] *Nachrichtenblatt des Reichswanderungsamts.* Berlin, August 15, 1922. Cited in: *International Labour Review*, November, 1922, Vol. VI, No. 5, p. 788.
[6] *International Labour Review*, November, 1922, Vol. VI, No. 5, p. 771.

Scandinavia, The Netherlands and Belgium

The governmental policy in Scandinavian countries has been to restrain emigration. A study of overseas emigration from Norway from 1861 to 1915 shows the same cyclical aspect that our own immigration figures do. As a result of the recent unemployment in Sweden, however, the workers are trying to prevent the employment of foreigners as foremen.[1]

There is but little emigration from the Netherlands, although the authorities in the Netherlands have been encouraging emigration of unemployed workers to Germany where industrial opportunities were greater. A special correspondent was also placed in France by the Employment Exchanges Association of the Netherlands to find openings for unemployed workers there[2] and attempts have been made to make sure that the United States quota is used up.[3]

Belgium, like France, has been using Italian workers in industries where shortages existed,[4] and has no great emigration problem, although her small American quota was more than filled in 1921-22.

Switzerland

The Swiss Federal Council, in a note to the Federal Assembly dated September 1, 1922, stated that an attempt must be made to organize emigration on a sound basis by finding employment abroad for future emigrants.[5] Such an attempt could hardly apply to the United States under the present ruling against contract labor, yet Swiss immigration into the United States was considerably reduced by the quota restriction and it seems probable that Switzerland, as well as Belgium, could fill a larger quota. These seem to be the only two countries of northern and western Europe of which this is true—at least for the present. Switzerland is also supervising seasonal immigration from nearby countries, and does not permit alien workers to remain during the winter to aggravate unemployment.[6]

[1] *Ny Tid.*, Stockholm, August 29, 1922. Cited in: *International Labour Review*, December, 1922. Vol. VI, No. 6, p. 983.
[2] *Tydschrift van de Nederlandsche Werkloosheidsradd*, Amsterdam, 1922, pp. 379 ff. Cited in: *International Labour Review*, November, 1922, Vol. VI, No. 5, p. 790.
[3] *Ibid.*, December, 1922, Vol. VI, No. 6, p. 982.
[4] *Ibid.*, November, 1922, Vol. VI., No. 5, p. 792.
[5] *Feuille Fédérale*, Berne, 6 September, 1922, No. 36. Cited in: *International Labour Review*, November, 1922, Vol. VI, No. 5, p. 785.
[6] *International Labour Review*, December, 1922, Vol. VI, No. 6, p. 981.

Poland

Overseas emigration from Poland was on the increase after 1919, but the estimates for the first six months of 1922 indicated a great decrease under the Per Centum Limit Act. The number admitted to the United States was reduced from 95,089 during the fiscal year 1921 to 28,635 in 1922. The figures for overland emigration from Poland show an interesting fact. Of a total of 8,847 persons, 6,892 went as "organized emigrants," presumably to European countries which had contracted for their labor. After the war, many thousands of Poles were repatriated and a net increase in the population resulted. In addition to hastening the departure of Jewish refugees, therefore, a movement to stimulate re-emigration followed. The large numbers that began to come to the United States as a result of this step were materially decreased by the operation of the Per Centum Limit Act.[1]

Italy

Before the war, about 200,000 persons emigrated from Italy to the United States each year. In 1921, the number was 222,260; in 1922 it was 40,319.[2] As a result of this drastic reduction by the quota method, and of reduced immigration during the war, it is said that there are about two millions of workers in the best years of their life whom Italy "urgently needs to place on the foreign markets." She is, moreover, "in the painful waiting period, . . . instructing and training them technically by means of thousands of schools set up in the traditional centres of emigration."[3]

In Italy, perhaps, more than in any other European country, emigration has long been recognized as a serious problem.[4] The emigration officials there have carefully studied the labor markets of immigration countries and have tried to effect cooperation with other governments, with the purpose of intelligently distributing Italy's surplus population. The custom

[1] *International Labour Review*, April and November, 1922, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 642 and Vol. VI, No. 5, pp. 775-6.

[2] This was the number giving Italy as last residence. The total number of immigrants of Italian birth charged against the quota was 42,149.

[3] Cabrini, Angiolo (Member of the Consiglio Superiore di Emigrazione). "Italian Emigration Since the War," *Manchester Guardian Commercial*, "Reconstruction in Europe," Section 10. Manchester, England, November 16, 1922, pp. 638-9.

[4] "Italy maintains a population of 38 million on an area of 120,000 square miles that is comparable roughly.... to the 160,000 square miles of the State of California. Migration is thus a physical necessity to a considerable part of the Italian population...." Chamberlain, Eugene T. "The Italian Merchant Marine." In: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. *Commerce Reports*, No. 49, Washington, December 4, 1922, pp. 586-7.

of sending Italian workers to other European countries has already been mentioned. In the pre-war period Germany alone absorbed from 80,000 to 90,000 workers from Italy every year.[1] Most of these outlets are now closed because of the economic situation in Europe. Switzerland, once an importer of Italian labor, is now taking steps to stimulate the emigration of her own unemployed.[2] Even France, where Italian workers are being used in increasing numbers, has not been taking as many as she formerly did. One ray of hope is seen by the Italian emigration authorities, however, in the collective contracts based on a new labor treaty between Italy and France and in agreements between labor associations, which will help to place 100,000 Italians in France during 1923 to aid in the work of reconstruction.[3]

When emigration from Italy to the United States was reduced to one-fifth of its former proportions, the movement toward South America increased. On October 8, 1921, an important agreement was reached whereby Italian workers were to be sent to Brazilian plantations. The emigration officials of Italy prescribed certain conditions for such employment. Wages were to be at the rate prevailing for other workers in the country; houses and pasture land were to be provided; there were to be schools, where instruction in the language and history of Italy was to be compulsory for Italian children.[4] Similar arrangements were contemplated in Argentina.[5] The Italian government is said to have been reluctant to send workers to Brazil and Argentina, however, because of the uncertain economic conditions there and other conditions it considers undesirable from hygienic and moral points of view.[6]

Emigration to Canada and Australia is difficult for the Italians because they are not able to meet the restrictions in favor of agriculturists, particularly those which require the means to develop the free homesteads.

In spite of Italy's great need to increase emigration, her government appears to be keeping in close touch with the situation in other countries and to be by no means willing to

[1]Cabrini, Angiolo, *op. cit.*
[2]*Feuille Fédérale*, Berne, 6 September, 1922, No. 36. Cited in: *International Labour Review*, November, 1922, Vol. VI, No. 5, p. 785.
[3]Cabrini, Angiolo, *op. cit.*
[4]*International Labour Review*, February, 1922, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 307-8.
[5]*Ibid.*, January, 1922, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 123.
[6]Cabrini, Angiolo, *op. cit.*

send her surplus population to countries where conditions are worse than those at home.

Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Austria and Hungary

By an act of February 15, 1922, the government of Czechoslovakia prohibited the recruiting of individuals for emigration to countries outside Europe for agricultural or industrial employment.[1] Yet the quota for Czechoslovakia was filled several weeks before the end of the fiscal year and it is thought likely that normally emigration from Czechoslovakia to the United States would exceed the quota. Although classed with the new immigrants, the Czechs did not have a single case of illiteracy among those applying for admission in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920. They point with pride to this and to the fact that they showed the greatest percentage of skilled workers.[2]

Jugoslavia is attempting to regulate emigration by ruling that emigrants may embark only at Jugoslav ports. It is planned to erect suitable emigration hotels at these ports.[3]

Austria is very much concerned over the difficulty of maintaining her present population during a period of great economic distress. Vienna, in 1910 the metropolis of an empire of fifty millions, is today the capital of "an impoverished, bloodless country"[4] of little more than six millions. The result is that suggestions are now made for stimulating the emigration of part of Vienna's population.

Hungary more than filled its quota in 1921-1922 and by January, 1923 had exhausted its entire quota for 1922-1923. This tendency to emigrate is likely to continue so long as there remain in Hungary so many thousands of refugees from neighboring territory[5] and political and economic conditions continue uncertain.

Russia

During 1921-1922, 28,908 persons who were admitted were charged to the Russian quota. The total number of aliens

[1] *International Labour Review*, June, 1922. Vol. V, No. 6, p. 977.
[2] Habrman, Gustav (Minister of Social Welfare for Czechoslovakia). "Czechoslovak Emigration to America." *Manchester Guardian Commercial, op. cit.*, Manchester, England, November 16, 1922, p. 641.
[3] *International Labour Review*, June, 1922, Vol. V, No. 6, p. 978.
[4] Pribram, Alfred Franzis (Professor of Modern History at Vienna University). "The Population Problem of Vienna." *Manchester Guardian Commercial*, "Reconstruction in Europe," Section 6, Manchester, England, August 17, 1922, p. 355.
[5] *International Labour Review*, June, 1922, Vol. V, No. 6, p. 979.

(immigrant and non-immigrant) who gave Russia as the last place of residence, however, was only 17,274, and the number of aliens classed with the Russian race was 2,993. It may be assumed that most of the immigrants admitted under the Russian quota were Hebrews and that many did not come directly from Russia, but first fled to other countries as refugees.

Little can be prophesied about the future course of Russian emigration. The policy of the Soviet Government has been to restrict emigration and not until the spring of 1922 were even wives and children of citizens and nationals of the United States allowed to leave Russia.[1]

Considering European needs, quite apart from problems at home, it appears that the Per Centum Limit Act has intensified the emigration problem in countries where it was already most acute. This situation has so emphasized the growing importance of international migrations that regulation of emigration is rapidly becoming an important function of European governments. They are watching international economic conditions, and are prepared to place their emigrants where they will find the best opportunities. The trend of emigration, already sensitive to industrial trends in the immigration countries, may in this way be given further direction. Another result of restrictive immigration policies is the increased tendency to provide adequate care and inspection for emigrants at embarkation ports.

The logical sequel to such national watchfulness is international cooperation. Important steps have already been taken in this direction. The International Labour Office in particular has done a great deal to stimulate international thinking on the subject. Its position is that

> "...emigration can help materially to make good the consequences of alterations in frontiers, changes with regard to economic well-being, the ruin of so many industries and the upsetting of so many traditional relationships. Artificial solutions and the employment of force will give way to emigration...immigration and settlement. To prevent unemployment, to do away with the famines and other periodical scourges which are always brought about by a bad distribution of population, to calm the minds of the people, an ever growing attention will have to be paid to the phenomena of migration."[2]

[1] *The Immigrant*, March 9, 1922. Cited in: *International Labour Review*, June, 1922, p. 980.

[2] International Labour Office. "Emigration and Immigration: Legislation and Treaties." Cited in: International Labour Office. *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, November 17, 1922. Vol. IV, No. 19, p. 18; see also p. 120 of the present report.

The questions now arise: Must the United States continue a policy which, in basing discrimination on racial grounds, produces hardship where the need is greatest? How many of Europe's difficulties can be removed by increased emigration? Can there be permanent prosperity in Europe if the populations of certain countries continue to keep ahead of economic resources? If emigration offers one solution to this serious problem, would the decision to admit a larger number of mentally and physically eligible Europeans be an entirely unselfish and altruistic step? On the contrary, if increased selected emigration to the United States would help to stabilize conditions in some of the European countries to even a slight degree, would it not also result in a larger market for American goods, increased production here and increased capacity to absorb new supplies of labor without detriment to American social standards?

Such questions as these have received but little attention in general discussions of immigration, but they deserve thoughtful consideration before the problem can be solved.

Summary

It is clear from the foregoing review of the operation of the Per Centum Limit Act and its relation to European conditions that the law has effected a large reduction in the volume of immigration and considerable changes in its racial character generally, in conformity with the purpose and points of view embodied in it. Although its operation has been extended to 1924, it was and still is considered essentially a temporary measure designed to meet the possible dangers of immigration resulting from post-war conditions. These conditions have changed and are changing in important respects, and the policy embodied in the law may have an influence in turn upon those conditions. The operation of the law has already affected emigration policies in certain foreign countries, and has raised serious problems of administration and government policy in handling immigrants in the United States. It is too early as yet, however, to determine the more general effects of the law, or of this type of legislation, in relation to the social and economic aspects of the immigration problem in the United States.

In planning any permanent immigration policy it appears that the fundamental social and economic aspects which have been

stressed in the past must be re-examined in the light of new conditions, artificially changed by the war. Some of the findings upon which the Act of 1917 and the Per Centum Limit Act were based may no longer be true. Deeper inquiry is needed into present industrial problems. It also seems clear that it would be both humane and expedient to assign proper importance to the needs of Europe. Moreover, the injustices and inconsistencies arising from imperfect administration of the present laws should, if possible, be remedied in the future.

V

A REVIEW OF SUGGESTIONS FOR A NATIONAL IMMIGRATION POLICY

The review of the history of immigration in the United States, and the development of federal immigration policy as embodied in legislation, shows that the tendency has been toward an increasing recognition of immigration as a national and, in part, an international problem, and toward increasing restriction of numbers and more extensive application of certain selective principles. It is only comparatively recently, however, that the Government has developed a definite national policy toward immigration. As a result of the investigations by the United States Immigration Commission from 1907 to 1910, certain points of view on the immigration problem were developed and many of these were embodied in the immigration law of 1917. The Commission in its report emphasized the following general principles as essentials in a sound immigration policy: First, that while the United States should, as in the past, offer a refuge for the oppressed of other lands, care should be taken that immigration be such "in quality and quantity" as not to make too difficult the process of assimilation; second, that after proper steps were taken to bar the physically and morally unfit and other undesirables, further legislation should be based primarily upon economic or business considerations touching the prosperity and economic well-being of our people; third, that these economic considerations should take into account not only the importance of maintaining the productivity of industry, but also the opportunities for employment and the effects of immigration on the standard of living of wage earners.[1]

As a result of its study, and in accordance with these general principles, the Commission recommended certain specific measures further to protect the United States more effectively against criminal and other undesirable classes, to insure just and humane decisions on doubtful cases at

[1]U. S. Reports of the Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 45.

ports of entry, to protect the immigrant against exploitation, to discourage the sending of his savings abroad, to encourage permanent residence and naturalization, to secure better distribution of immigrants throughout the country, and finally, to make it possible to admit certain desirable classes of labor when needed. The law of 1917 raised an elaborate barrier against mental, physical and moral undesirables of all classes, with a literacy test as a further safeguard against the influx of large masses of low-standard, unskilled labor. Those recommendations of the Commission which have not yet been embodied in law will be mentioned later in connection with the specific suggestions for future immigration policy.

The war and post-war situation, both in the United States and in European countries, produced so many changes in the character of the immigration problem that there was a demand in this country for the radical modification and further extension of these general principles. The Per Centum Limit Act of 1921, however, introduced a new principle into American immigration policy by setting up, as a basis of restriction, a numerical ratio of immigrants to alien population already in the United States, in addition to the exclusion of undesirable classes already barred by the law of 1917. This legislation was a product of war and post-war conditions and was intended as a temporary measure to meet the immigration situation until a more comprehensive and permanent policy could be worked out. With the lapse of the Per Centum Limit Act by statutory limitation on June 30, 1924, discussion of the immigration problem and suggestions for legislative changes have naturally increased, as a result of the feeling that this law does not provide a sufficiently comprehensive solution of the problem.

It is intended in the present chapter to summarize the main suggestions which have been offered both as to changes in the general policy toward immigration embodied in existing law and as to the practical means of working out a more comprehensive national immigration policy. The suggestions here presented and the interpretative comments should not be regarded as in any way reflecting the National Industrial Conference Board's judgment as to their merits or defects, nor is it implied that the questions raised regarding them necessarily cover all the issues involved.

The specific aspects of the immigration policy dealt with

in the various suggestions made by individuals and by organizations interested in immigration relate, first, to the numbers of immigrants to be admitted, second, to the principle and method of selecting immigrants, third, to the distribution of immigrants after arrival, and fourth, to the assimilation of immigrants.

While there has been a vast amount of discussion of the problems of assimilation and distribution, and while those interested in the social aspects of immigration have emphasized the need of the development of policies and methods in these connections, there have been as yet very few concrete proposals regarding them. There appears to be a general agreement that steps should be taken better to distribute and assimilate immigrants admitted, but discussion of future immigration policy is centered chiefly in the problem of numerical restriction and selection. The emphasis, therefore, in the discussion of immigration policy is being put largely on the question of numbers and selection of immigrants and tends to relate largely to the economic aspects of the immigration problem, although some of the proposals for restriction of numbers and for selective methods necessarily involve certain social considerations also.

Number of Aliens to be Admitted

The points of view regarding the number of aliens to be admitted vary from advocacy of absolute prohibition for a term of years to a belief that numerical restriction may be abandoned, provided there is some form of selection of individuals. Some suggestions call for indefinite suspension of all immigration,[1] or for a policy of complete restriction of immigration to immediate dependent relatives of foreigners permanently resident here, and to "aliens who are eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States."[2]

The majority of important suggestions, however, involve some form of percentage or quota restriction of numbers related in various ways to the present alien population resident in the United States.

The first suggestion that the numbers of aliens admitted

[1]U. S. 67th Congress, 4th Session, H. R. 13713. Introduced January 8, 1923, by Representative Sanders of Texas.

[2]Johnson, Albert. Speech of August 31, 1922. Reprint from *Congressional Record*, 67th Congress. 2nd Session; see also American Federation of Labor. *Proceedings*, Annual Conventions, 1891 to 1922.

should bear some definite and fixed relation to the numbers of the same race or nationality already in the United States was contained in a recommendation made to the Immigration Commission of 1907, to the effect that the number of each race arriving each year should be limited to a certain percentage of the average number of persons of that race who had arrived during a given period of preceding years.[1] Suggestions for a percentage limitation made subsequently differ widely both as to the basis on which the percentage is to be applied and also as to the amount of limitation. These differences reflect different objectives sought through numerical limitation, some suggestions emphasizing considerations of numbers, and others the desirability of so applying the percentage restriction as to make it serve selective purposes also. The main suggestions that have been offered for numerical limitation are as follows:

1. Limitation to 2% of foreign born of each nationality resident in the United States as shown by the Census of 1890.[2]
2. Limitation to 5% of foreign born of each nationality in the United States in 1890.[3]
3. Limitation to 1½% or 2% of foreign born of each nationality in the United States according to the Census of 1910.[4]
4. Limitation to 2% of foreign born in the United States in 1890, plus 400 for each nationality.[5]
5. Limitation to 3% of foreign born of each nationality in the United States in 1910, plus 2% chosen on a selective basis, making a possible 5% in all.[6]
6. Limitation to 10% of the number of American born citizens whose father or mother belong to the national or racial group in question, plus the naturalized citizens of that group, as shown by the last available Census, but not to exceed one fifth of one per cent of the population of that national or racial group.[7]
7. Limitation to not less than 5% or more than 15% (or possibly less than 3% or more than 10%) of a basic figure to be composed of:

[1]U. S. Reports of the Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 47.

[2]U. S. 67th Congress, 4th Session, H. R. 13234, Introduced December 7, 1922 by Representative Rainey of Alabama; also H. R. 13628, Introduced January 3, 1923 by Representative Box of Texas.

[3]U. S. 67th Congress, 4th Session, Senate Bill 4222, Introduced December 22, 1922 by Senator Reed of Pennsylvania.

[4]Johnson, Albert. Speech of August 31, 1922, *op cit.*

[5]U. S. 67th Congress, 4th Session, H. R. 14273, Introduced February 15, 1923 by Representative Johnson of Washington for the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization

[6]Chamber of Commerce of the United States. "Immigration Policy," February 17, 1923. The Chamber's report recommends this percentage limitation pending development of a proper selective basis, not as a permanent policy.

[7]U. S. 67th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Bill 1253, Introduced April 27, 1921, known as the Sterling Bill.

a. The number of American-born children of each race or mother-tongue group as shown by the Census of 1920, plus

b. The number of naturalized citizens of each race or mother-tongue group, as shown in the last available Census, plus

c. The number of aliens of each race or mother-tongue group naturalized since that Census, as reported by the Chief of the Bureau of Naturalization. If the basic figure for any people or mother-tongue group shall be found to be less than 20,000, the number admissible each year shall be 1,000.[1]

8. Limitation of total immigration to three-quarters of one per cent of the total population of the United States.[2]

9. Regulation of amount of immigration by a Federal Immigration Board, with carefully defined powers of investigation and limited powers of decision, according to economic and industrial conditions in America and experience as to assimilation of each race.[3]

In addition to basic percentage limitations, suggestions have been made for modifying a fixed numerical limitation in various ways, such as: the admission of immediate families of those already residents of the United States, as single units in the quotas;[4] the admission of certain classes as "non-quota" immigrants, such as near relatives of citizens of the United States or of those who have taken out their first papers, immigrants returning from a temporary visit abroad, aliens who have lived for five years in other parts of the American continent and their families, members of learned professions, those who served with the United States forces during the war, and skilled laborers on the recommendation of the Secretary of Labor.[5] It has also been suggested that in fixing the quota of each nationality of aliens otherwise admissible under the present law, due regard should be given to the ascertained annual emigration of such nationality—in other words, that the quota be fixed in terms of net immigration; and further, that laborers of any class be admitted in excess of quotas if the Secretary of Labor finds that there is a continuing shortage of labor of a particular class or type.[6]

[1]National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation. "Regulation and Naturalization. Draft of Proposed Law." (Pamphlet, 15 pages) New York, 1919.

[2]Sterling Bill, *op. cit.*

[3]*Idem.*

[4]Johnson, Albert. Speech of August 31, 1922, *op. cit.*

[5]U. S. 67th Congress, 4th Session. H. R. 14273, Introduced February 15, 1923 by the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

[6]National Association of Manufacturers. Report of Committee on Immigration, 1922; See also: U. S. 67th Congress, 4th Session, Senate Bill 4303, Introduced January 9, 1923 by Senator Colt of Rhode Island.

The basis of the percentage limit is clearly a question of considerable importance in relation to the selective operation of numerical restriction. In general, the use of the 1890 census as the base for a percentage limitation would decrease the admissibles from southern and eastern Europe without appreciably augmenting the number of immigrants arriving under the present limitations from northern and western Europe. The use of a 1920 census base would greatly increase the admissibles from southern and eastern Europe as compared with the 1910 base now in effect. The use of the number of naturalized citizens of the various races as a base would result in a still different distribution of the admissible nationalities. The system advocated depends largely on the point of view of its sponsors and it can be varied in any number of ways.

It must be admitted that such a plan of selection has the advantage of not explicitly discriminating against any given group of foreigners by nationality. It remains a question, however, whether the lack of discrimination in such a device is not more apparent than real, since its actual effect is the limitation of the admissibles of certain races. Furthermore, it is questionable whether such a rough selective device affords in itself a sound and adequate basis of selection and whether its use is not open to the influence of prejudice or other factors which determine the view as to the desirability or undesirability of certain races as such. The immigration problem is fundamentally so human a problem and the existing knowledge regarding the inherent value and possibility of assimilation of foreign stocks is so scanty and controversial, that the effectiveness of selection through the more or less accidental method of percentage limitation is seriously open to question.

Finally, the suggestions for the modification of the percentage limitation method through provisions for special admission of certain classes indicate a feeling that this method is itself perhaps not flexible enough to meet the needs of the country. Various discussions concerning the numbers of immigrants to be admitted have emphasized the need of flexibility in this regard in relation to economic conditions in the United States.[1] In this connection the need of some

[1]National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation, *op. cit.*, p. 5; Husband, W. W. "How to Let in the Men We Need." *Nation's Business*, Washington, D. C., January, 1923, p. 17.

system under which available supplies of labor of various kinds in foreign countries could be brought to the attention of the Federal Government and relevant facts both in America and elsewhere relating to labor supply could be ascertained with scientific care has been emphasized in several suggestions.[1] In short, while the percentage limitation method appears to have been generally accepted as the easiest single method of numerical restriction, it is questionable whether its application would not have to be greatly revised and elaborated in order to make it a thoroughly just and humane system, to make it meet more scientifically the racial and social aspects of the immigration problem and, finally, to make it thoroughly responsive to the country's economic needs.

Selection of Immigrants

A consideration of the various proposals for numerical limitation of immigration shows that there is general agreement that the limitation of numbers should have a selective character as well. In some cases it has been felt that a numerical limitation could be dispensed with if a thoroughgoing selective restriction were developed.

The present law embodies certain selective restrictions in that it seeks to eliminate all induced or solicited immigration and forbids contract labor, except certain skilled laborers who may be admitted under contract, providing the Secretary of Labor thinks they are needed and consents to their admission. Immigration, under present laws, therefore, is reduced to persons who have come to the United States of their own initiative and is to that extent selected. Furthermore, the successive immigration laws since 1875 have embodied a constantly increasing list of exclusions applying to certain undesirable classes, and to these exclusions was added the selective restriction imposed by the reading test in the law of 1917.

More recent suggestions for the development of selective limitations involve the extension and more thorough enforcement of the present exclusion provisions either at the port of entry or abroad, and the development of positive methods of selection, chiefly through the establishment of immigration

[1] *Idem.*

inspectors or agents abroad, either at the ports of embarkation or in United States consulates.

The more important suggestions for the extension or modification of the present selective tests are as follows:

1. Addition to or replacement of present tests by (a) a blood test to determine the general condition of health, latent disease, etc., (b) a physical inventory of strength and conditions affecting ability to earn a living, (c) a test to determine mental fitness, (d) verification of the standing of a prospective immigrant in his home community to determine his character.[1]
2. Replacement of present tests by minimum physical, mental and moral tests, in addition to the test of a "demonstrated need for immigrants of a particular kind."[2]
3. Exclusion of unskilled laborers unaccompanied by wives and families.[3]
4. Increase in the amount of money required to be in possession of immigrants at the time of arrival, material increase of the head tax and levy of the head tax so as to make a marked discrimination in favor of men with families.[4]
5. Modification of the contract labor law whereby unskilled and farm labor as well as skilled workers might be brought into the country in response to an actual need ascertained by scientific investigation of conditions in the United States and abroad.[5] In this connection it has also been suggested that the contract labor law be replaced by a system of government supervision of legal contracting for foreign labor.[6]
6. Omission of the literacy test.[7]
7. Enforcement, administration and extension of selective tests through governmental agencies abroad.[7]
8. Inspection by officials of the countries of emigration according to standards of admissibility fixed by the United States.[7]

The last two suggestions in their various forms are among the more humane and important of those being made for improvement of the selection of immigrants. Under present methods the would-be immigrant obtains a passport from his own country which is visaed by an American consul. The consul has no authority to refuse the visa except when the alien comes under one of the excluded clauses as provided in the passport regulations. No examination to determine his admissibility from the physical point of view is made, however, until the immigrant is inspected by the steamship authorities.

[1]U. S. Secretary of Labor. Annual Report 1922, p. 106.
[2]Chamber of Commerce of the United States, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
[3]U. S. Reports of the Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 47.
[4]*Ibid.*, p. 48.
[5]Husband, W. W. "How to Let in the Men We Need," *op. cit.*
[6]Fairchild, H. P. "The Restriction of Immigration." Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. 6, 1911, p. 66.
[7]National Association of Manufacturers, *op. cit.*

Selfish interest alone is sufficient to make the latter inspection severe, since high punitive fines are imposed on steamship companies transporting inadmissible aliens to American ports. Inspection by steamship companies and the visa of the American consul do result, therefore, in a certain measure of selection abroad under the present arrangement. It is suggested, however, that this selection be more thoroughly organized and administered by the establishment of federal immigration inspectors or agents abroad either at ports of embarkation or in the United States consulates.[1] One plan suggested is for the placement of agents abroad as in the Canadian system, to induce desirable immigration, to receive applications for aliens desiring to emigrate and to investigate the fitness of prospective immigrants. The second suggestion for the control of immigration at its source would depend upon the consular service for such selection. This method was first suggested as early as 1838[2] as a means of preventing hardship to would-be immigrants.

In this connection it has been urged that under the operation of any quota law there should be greater cooperation between the consuls abroad (who are under the administrative authority of the State Department) and the Bureau of Immigration of the Department of Labor. Any lack of cooperation is explained as due to shortcomings in the present passport regulations and to the division of authority between the Department of State and the Department of Labor. It is complained that consuls have visaed passports of persons obviously inadmissible to the United States and have given visas in excess of the quotas admissible. An amendment to the quota law has been suggested in order to bring about a system of counting the number of visas issued so as to count the quota at the United States consulates abroad rather than at ports of arrival and to limit visas to the number of the quota of any country.[3] It has also been recommended that the number of visas to be issued in any month be limited to a fixed percentage of the total quota so

[1]New York State. Chamber of Commerce. Report and Resolutions on Immigration, New York, December 7, 1922, Pamphlet, 3 p. U. S. Dept. of Labor, Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor, 1920 and 1922, pp. 66–106; U. S. Reports of the Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 26; President Harding's Message to Congress, Dec. 8, 1922, *Congressional Record*, Vol. 64, p. 215; National Association of Manufacturers, *op. cit.*; National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation, *op. cit.*

[2]U. S. Reports of the Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, Vol. 39, p. 12.

[3]U. S. 67th Congress, 2nd Session. Hearings before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, August 22, 1922. Serial 6B, p. 606.

that in every instance a visa by the United States consulate would secure admission to the holder of the passport provided he were not held excludable as a mental or moral inferior.

In order to remedy the present inconsistencies in the operation of the system of consular visa abroad, an elaborate plan has been proposed for the issuance of "immigration certificates."[1] The certificate plan is described by those who sponsor it as "the nearest approach to the examination of immigrants overseas, recommended by President Harding and so many others, that the United States may safely adopt unless we are willing that medical, physical, and mental examinations made in other lands shall be final, and that the making of such examinations shall be a subject of treaty regulations."[2] The various suggestions of experts have been "developed until a workable system has been devised" which embraces the following steps:

A. Application for admission as a quota or non-quota immigrant.
   1. Filling out of blank (furnished free of charge) with name and vital statistics.
   2. Answers on the blank to questions approximately the same as are asked of the immigrant on arrival. . . .
   3. Verification by oath before United States consular officer.

B. Issuance by consular officer of quota or non-quota certificate.
   1. Means of identification.
   2. No more quota certificates to be issued than indicated by quota figures.
   3. Certificate does not entitle immigrant to enter United States.
   4. Certificates are taken up at port of entry and certificate of arrival with photograph and identification issued.
   5. This certificate of arrival may be used for naturalization purposes in lieu of the present unsatisfactory plan.

C. Application by relatives in the United States.
   1. Prospective immigrants claiming to be in the non-quota classification by reason of certain relationship to persons in the United States shall not receive certificates except on authority of the Commissioner General of Immigration, to whom application must be made by the relatives under safeguarded conditions.[3]

It is evident that the various suggestions here presented relating to the improved selection of immigrants involve two distinct purposes: first, a further refinement of the selective tests and second, an improvement in the means of apply-

[1]U. S. 67th Congress, 4th Session, H. R. 14273. Introduced February 9, 1923 by Representative Johnson of Washington.
[2]U. S. 67th Congress, 4th Session, H. R. Report No. 1621, p.14, Washington, February 15, 1923.
[3]*Ibid.*, p. 15.

ing those tests. There is apparent a desire, not only to retain and more strictly to enforce the present selective exclusions, but also to develop tests of a more positive character; not only more thoroughly to exclude the undesirables but also to select the most desirable. Suggestions of this character lead back finally to the difficult question as to what constitutes the desirable or undesirable in an immigrant from the social point of view. Granted that the physically, mentally or morally defective should be excluded, upon what basis shall further tests of desirability be established? As has been pointed out in Chapter II of this report, all too little comprehensive and reliable knowledge exists at present on which to base such tests. The validity of such racial distinctions as that between the northern and western European group of races, on the one hand, and the southern and eastern on the other, as well as the final value of the measures of intelligence or social adequacy so far developed, are open to serious question in the present state of knowledge of these problems. Furthermore, selection on the basis of economic needs of the country must raise important and difficult questions as to what authority shall decide the question of such need, and upon what grounds it shall be decided. This whole problem, as has been pointed out also in Chapter II, involves difficult questions of the organization and development of industry and of the standard of living of the working classes. While such questions might not arise so sharply as regards the selection of skilled labor among immigrants, they would be most difficult to decide in relation to the needs of the country for unskilled labor.

Moreover, the application of any more refined selective tests or the more thorough enforcement of existing ones is bound to raise in the future, as it has raised in the past, serious problems of international relationships. As has been pointed out, limitation by numerical ratio was hit upon as a convenient means, not only of limiting numbers, but of exercising a broad selection among races, because it was theoretically not open to the objection of national discrimination. Any refinement of selective tests within the numerical limitation, however, and any more thorough enforcement of such tests before embarkation, must immediately raise questions of international right and of international discrimination. It is a problem at what point in the development of selective

tests foreign nations would feel that their peoples were being discriminated against as a group.

It is an important question, however, whether any tests, existing or future, can be applied through American official agencies abroad without international complications. A number of years ago, through the State Department, several governments were approached as to the possibility of establishing a system of American inspection abroad. Only one or two governments were willing at that time to have United States immigration officials operating within their borders. Some governments were indefinite as to their attitude, others were definitely opposed.[1] Recently Italy notified the United States Government that it would never consent to the operation of federal immigration officials within its borders, nor did it believe that any other European country would accept such a system.

The examination of immigrants by foreign governments according to United States standards of admissibility, and the cooperation of foreign governments in sending only such immigrants as were desired and in repatriating those who failed to meet the qualifications fixed, might partially meet the difficulties involved in this problem, but might in turn lead to other difficulties with foreign governments if and when disputes arose in individual cases. Inasmuch as immigration and emigration problems are becoming more and more international in scope, and inasmuch as the nations are taking cooperative action in some instances in regard to these problems, it is possible that some of the difficulties in the way of foreign inspection of immigrants may be overcome in time. No system of medical inspection abroad, however, could obviate the necessity for a rigid inspection at United States ports, since there would have to be some kind of secondary check upon immigrants after their original examination, because of the lapse of time in travel.

Even if the principle of foreign inspection presented no international difficulties, it is doubtful whether the control of such an intricate and far-flung organization, so as to prevent exercise of personal influence or the development of dishonesty, would be possible. The development of such inspection services in connection with the consulates abroad might diminish the difficulties in this direction. The practical obstacles in the

[1]U. S. Reports of the Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 26.

way of such a scheme lie in the fact that there are at present a limited number of trained officers available and too few consulates to take care of the large flow of immigration. If sufficient time were allowed to train a body of officials and to appoint additional consuls in the larger countries, these difficulties might be met. Nevertheless, in the suggestions offered under this head, there are no provisions defining the powers of consular officers to refuse visas if the applicants are not eligible under existing immigration laws. Unless the State Department regulations could be so altered that consular officials would be empowered to refuse visas to such applicants as must be denied admission on this side, the plan would have little value as a selective system. Even if the consular officials were so empowered, however, such a law would only serve to make the present negative selection more careful and more humane, but would do little to solve the problem of constructive positive selection.

In connection with the problem of selection it must be remembered that as the selective tests are extended and revised and as a more thorough enforcement of them is sought, it becomes a more difficult and delicate problem, but also a more necessary task, to assure prompt, careful and just decisions on doubtful cases, not only from the humane point of view but out of consideration also for international feeling. Here again the question arises as to what authority shall be charged with the administration of this aspect of the immigration laws. It has been emphasized that boards of special inquiry should be composed of men whose ability and training qualify them for the performance of judicial functions.[1] It was suggested by the Immigration Commission of 1907 that these officials be appointed by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor and that it be possible for their decisions to be appealed to a higher authority to be created.[2] To insure proper consideration of the various factors entering into the administration of the immigration laws in connection with the selection of immigrants, it has also been suggested that the laws be administered through a board composed of the Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce and Labor.[3] Other suggestions for the creation of a special

[1]U. S. Reports of the Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 46.
[2]*Idem.*
[3]National Association of Manufacturers, *op. cit.*

immigration board have been made,[1] but it is obvious that the power vested in such a body would be tremendous and would require careful safeguards of its use.

In short, the primary problems raised by the suggestions looking toward the more careful selection of immigrants involve in the first place the careful development of standards of selection, determined on the basis of more comprehensive knowledge and broader views of the social and economic aspects of immigration, and in the second place, the solution of questions of administration and of international cooperation, implying a decision as to the extent to which the United States can and should go in enforcing different standards, with full consideration of the demands of humanity and international right.

Distribution of Immigrants

The questions of the distribution and assimilation of immigrants, which are closely interwoven, lie wholly within the field of domestic social policy, and the points of view and suggestions offered in relation to them involve matters which lie in part outside the problem of immigration itself. They are largely bound up with general current discussions of political, social and economic problems and for this reason it is difficult to isolate the suggestions which relate particularly to the distribution and assimilation of immigrants as distinguished from the distribution of labor forces, the improvement of general living standards, intelligence, morale and citizenship, or the prevention of pauperism, insanity, criminality and other aspects of social inadequacy.

As has been pointed out in Chapter II, many of the problems of distribution, social adjustment and assimilation of immigrants are problems of the working classes as a whole, regardless of alienage. Certain aspects of these problems in which the factor of foreign birth is especially involved have received special consideration in the discussion of the social problem as a whole, and although the concrete recommendations are few in number, attention may be drawn to the phases of the problem which have received special emphasis.

It has been generally recognized that a more intelligent distribution of immigrants is a prerequisite for their more successful assimilation, as well as for the coordination of im-

[1]Sterling Bill, *op. cit.*

migration with the labor needs of the country.[1] It has also been recognized that the problem of distribution of immigrants is involved with that of their selection before entrance to the country and that the immigrants should be selected with a view to their best distribution from the standpoint of assimilation.[2] In line with this idea it has been suggested that all aliens entering the United States should be required to register.[3] As a further means of keeping in touch with the alien it has been suggested that all aliens should not only be registered but should be required to report annually at a registration office, and to submit to certain examinations to determine the degree of their assimilation and their fitness for citizenship.[4]

In discussions of the practical means of distribution of immigrants, emphasis is usually placed upon the need for closer cooperation between the states and the Federal Government and between private organizations and the state and federal governments, not only in providing and securing information as to immigrants' needs and opportunities but to protect the immigrant against exploitation.[5] Various suggestions have been made for organizing and systematizing this cooperation, such as, that the heads of the various state bureaus of labor should be made agents of the Federal Government for collecting information as to conditions of trade and labor in the states. The problem of adequate distribution not only of immigrant but of native labor has given occasion for considerable discussion of the organization of a permanent system of employment offices established under state authority, with the Federal Government equipped to facilitate interstate coordination by collecting and supplying statistical information, and with employers and workers placed on advisory committees to cooperate with state and municipal employment offices.[6]

One of the most specific plans for more evenly distributing immigrants throughout the country was recently outlined by William R. Morton, Vice-Consul at Athens. He suggests that

[1]National Association of Manufacturers, *op. cit.*; U. S. Reports of the Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*; Gulick, Sidney L. "A Permanent Immigration Policy." National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation, (Pamphlet, 8 p. New York, 1922).
[2]National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation, *op. cit.*
[3]U. S. Secretary of Labor. Annual Report, 1922, p. 110.
[4]U. S. 67th Congress, 4th Session. H. R. 13417. Introduced December 14, 1922 by Representative Rainey of Alabama.
[5]National Association of Manufacturers, *op. cit.*
[6]U. S. Report of the President's Conference on Unemployment. Washington, D. C., 1921, pp. 77–78.

the United States be divided into twelve or sixteen zones and that an annual quota of immigrants be assigned to each. The size of each zone would be dependent on the population or on the percentage of foreign born in the region, and in assigning the quotas the purpose would be to send the immigrants to parts of the country where there are now the fewest foreign born residents. The consulates abroad would be kept advised by cable of the status of the quota in each zone and at the time of applying for a visa the immigrant would be told which zones were still open to him and would make his selection before embarking. He would be expected to remain in the zone to which he went for five years. At the end of that time he would be eligible to citizenship and would be free to go wherever he wished. One argument for this plan is that the immigrants who would be forced to choose certain sections where there are now few foreign born would in time induce their relatives and friends to join them there, and that what began as a more or less compulsory form of distribution would become practically voluntary.[1]

Special attention has been called to the problem of distributing immigrants on farms and in agricultural occupations. Opinion is sharply divided as to the desirability of any large scale placing of immigrants on the land. Some hold that any concerted effort to direct large numbers of European immigrants to American farms would create the danger of developing a European peasant class in the United States and would carry into farm and rural life some of the serious problems which the settlement of immigrant groups in cities has raised.[2] Again there has been considerable dispute as to whether the agricultural situation in the United States demands such distribution of immigrants in view of the diminishing land supply.[3] It has been pointed out in this connection that while some of the immigrants from certain European countries have received considerable training in agriculture and have adaptability for the hard manual labor required in intensive farming, they have neither experience nor capital, which are primary requisites for successful farming in this country. Experience has shown also that, because of the poor selection

[1]Lane, Winthrop D. "Distribute Immigrants by Zone System, says Expert." In: *New York Times*, June 10, 1923.

[2]Howard, James R. ex-President of the American Farm Bureau Federation, at Joint Conference on Immigration of the National Industrial Conference Board, January 5, 1923.

[3]U. S. Department of the Interior. *Reclamation Record*, Washington, D. C., July, 1919, Vol. X, No. 7, p. 316; Baker, O. E. Cited in: Speek, P. A. "A Stake in the Land," Harper & Bros., New York, 1921, p. XXIV.

of land due to lack of knowledge or to association with dishonest land dealers, allowance of too short a time in which to pay for farms, inadequate credit and capital, and inexperience with American farming methods, there have already been grave difficulties connected with the settlement of immigrants on land. Accordingly it has been suggested that federal, state and municipal regulation of land dealings shall be established; that states with available land shall have public agencies where reliable information may be obtained; that public reclamation of land shall be undertaken with an eye to practical use by small land owners; that colonization shall be undertaken both by public and private organizations under an interdepartmental federal colonization board which shall plan colonies, distribute persons among them, supervise their economic life, education, etc.; and finally, that legislation shall be enacted in favor of cooperative agricultural organizations.[1]

It should be noted that a great deal of constructive work has already been done in connection with the distribution of immigrants, and that many agencies now exist for dealing with this problem. The Division of Information of the Bureau of Immigration was created in 1907 to promote a better, distribution of aliens through the publication of information the cooperation of state agencies, etc. The Division has never carried on its work on a scale proportionate to the magnitude of the task, because, it claims, it has never had an appropriation sufficient for its proper functioning. Certain states such as New York, Massachusetts, California and Wisconsin have created commissions to study the effect of immigration upon their economic and social life and to assist in efforts to distribute and assimilate immigrants. California and Wisconsin in particular have experimented with land colonization.

It seems probable, therefore, that there is general recognition of the need of organizing the distribution of immigrants, that certain facilities, federal and state, already exist for this purpose and that a body of experience exists which affords or which may serve as a basis for a comprehensive program of distribution. What is primarily necessary, therefore, in this connection is a more careful study of past experience and of the possibility of utilizing present facilities, and the develop-

[1]Speek, P. A., *op. cit.*, pp. 112-142.

ment of a program more national in scope. One obstacle in the way of sending any considerable number of immigrants to selected localities has been found to lie in the fact that nearly all of the aliens entering the United States have already determined upon their destination in this country at the time of their departure from Europe,[1] or have to select a destination before admission. This fact raises the question previously stated, namely, whether the more careful selection of immigrants prior to entering is not a fundamental factor in the question of distribution. Adequate selection involves a consideration of racial characteristics, which strongly influence the possibility of distributing immigrants in certain localities or occupations; and it may bring out certain preferences or prior intention of immigrants which would complicate the problem of distribution. This consideration, however, raises a more fundamental problem in connection with the distribution of immigrants, namely, to what extent the power of the state can be used to determine the location of individuals. If certain proposals for the selection of immigrants trespass upon accepted notions of international rights, would not a comprehensive and vigorous program of distribution infringe upon universal human conceptions of the rights of the individual? From this point of view it is clear that any program of distribution must rely fundamentally upon factors of persuasion and must depend upon the making of conditions in certain industries and localities more inviting to immigrants than those in others. In other words, the problem of distribution is closely involved with that of racial psychology and with the social and economic factors of the American environment, and is largely only a special aspect of the general problem of assimilation.

Assimilation of Immigrants

Because the problem of assimilation is the most general aspect of the immigration problem as a whole, discussion of it is abundant, but specific recommendations for governmental policies are few and far between. The importance of assimilation is generally emphasized and suggestions regarding the numbers to be admitted and regarding the selection and distribution of immigrants recognize that the problem of as-

[1]Jenks, J. W. and Lauck, W. J. "The Immigration Problem." 4th Edition, Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1917, p. 281.

similation involves a decision as to the regulation of numbers of immigrants admitted, their selection according to certain social standards, and their wide distribution according to economic and social considerations. Accordingly, we find it stressed that immigrants should be selected as to character, occupations and numbers, with a view to their distribution from the standpoint of assimilation, Americanization, steady employment and the maintenance of life at a normal American standard of living;[1] that laws be enacted strictly regulating immigrant banks and employment agencies; that aliens be excluded who come to this country with no intention of becoming American citizens, and that aliens who attempt to persuade immigrants not to become American citizens should be made subject to deportation.[2] A more general conception of assimilation has been laid down, to the effect that a slow expansion of industry which would permit the distribution and assimilation of the incoming labor supply is preferable to a very rapid industrial expansion which would result in the immigration of laborers of low standards and efficiency, imperiling the American standards of wages and employment.[3]

The importance of naturalizing aliens has been greatly stressed in discussions of assimilation, and many specific recommendations for encouraging and facilitating naturalization have been made.[4] In general, however, it is evident in discussions of the problem of assimilation that as yet there has not been developed any generally accepted concept of the objective to be attained in the assimilation of immigrants. This conception is now going through a process of analysis and definition which must be preliminary to the formulation of a national immigration policy, since, as has been pointed out, it determines all aspects of that policy. The general public concept of assimilation is that of a process of modification of the characteristics of the immigrant to accord with prevalent American types, psychology, customs and institutions, usually by superimposing American manners and American ideas upon those of the immigrant.[5] This concept is based on the assumption that American racial and

[1]National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation, *op. cit.*
[2]U. S. Reports of the Immigration Commission, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 46.
[3]*Idem.*
[4]U. S. Secretary of Labor. Annual Report. Washington, D. C. 1922, pp. 107-111.
[5]Drachsler, Julius. "Democracy and Assimilation." Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1920, p. 210.

cultural types are more or less fixed and that American social values are superior to those of the alien.

As the immigration problem receives wider discussion, and as its national importance is more thoroughly impressed upon the public, it is clear that the conception of the process of assimilation is being modified to take account of the considerations stressed in Chapter II, namely, that the relation of the immigrant to the community is a two-sided one and that his assimilation implies a mutual adjustment. As a first step toward improvement of the assimilation of immigrants, it has been suggested that any future Immigration Commission should give special attention to immigrant community life rather than to a "detached, atomized and therefore unreal immigrant laborer."[1] The assimilation of immigrants must make possible a maximum contribution on their part both economically and culturally, and a comprehensive program of public policy must take into account these two inseparable aspects, for immigrants, as individuals and as groups, cannot "be expected to make cultural contributions if the economic basis of their life is insecure or inadequate."[2] In other words, it is being recognized that the economic adjustment of the immigrant is the fundamental basis of his social assimilation and that this social assimilation must aim to preserve the valuable traits and capacities of the immigrant, through such adjustments in the American attitude and American institutions as will favor the economic security of the immigrant and the development of his valuable potentialities.

In the light of these considerations, it is a question whether a program of assimilation can be considered adequate and comprehensive which does not start with a carefully worked out plan of admission, selection and distribution, and which does not aim at the development and maintenance of high standards of living through provisions and regulations for adequate housing, through special facilities for education and health, through the special promotion and protection of immigrant savings, through the specialization of immigrant employment and through the fostering of immigrant community life. Such a program, furthermore, must depend upon the development of more adequate knowledge regarding the racial characteristics which affect assimilation and must utilize the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 173.

vast amount of practical experience which has developed out of the Americanization work of numerous private and public agencies.

Foreign Policies Regarding Immigration

As has been indicated in preceding sections of this chapter, the problem of a national immigration policy involves questions of international relationships and is becoming more and more international in scope. Some foreign governments have been confronted with special immigration problems more or less similar to our own, and their experiences with regard to the more important of these may be helpful.

At the 1919 Conference of the International Labour Organization of the League of Nations, the economic significance of emigration both to countries of departure and destination was pointed out. As a result, the International Emigration Commission, with representatives from Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland, South Africa, Sweden, Germany, China, India, Spain, Japan, Canada, Brazil, France, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Argentina and Australia, was created to study and confer upon various problems relating to emigration. At its first meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, in August, 1921, a number of resolutions were adopted for submission to the International Labour Conference in 1922.[1]

The recommendations of the Commission covered the assembling, through the International Labour Office, of legislative, statistical and other information concerning emigration and immigration; investigation of possibilities of international coordination of legislation affecting immigration; regulation of public employment exchange systems; securing of equality of treatment between immigrant workers and nationals of the respective countries as regards labor and social needs, relief and trade union rights; state supervision of immigration agents; collective recruiting of workers under State inspection and supervision; enforcement of labor contracts; inspection of immigrants; insurance of immigrants during travel; the opening of general and technical schools to immigrants on equal terms with nationals; and the creation of a permanent commission on immigration.

It may properly be pointed out in this connection that the provisions of the present American immigration law empowering the

[1]International Labour Office. *Official Bulletin.* Geneva, August 24, 1921, pp. 3–7.

Government of the United States to call an international conference for the discussion of immigration problems has so far not been taken advantage of by the United States, although many of the problems which have arisen in connection with present and future American immigration policy would seem to call for such international discussion.

Summary

The changes in the volume and racial characteristics of immigration to the United States in recent years and the new conditions created by the war and post-war situation have tended to produce new problems relating to immigration and to emphasize the necessity of formulating a more permanent and comprehensive national policy. The tendency in immigration policy has been toward increasing national control and toward the limitation of numbers and a more careful selection of immigrants. Efforts to solve the immigration problem have hitherto been, in the main, experimental. The present legislation also is experimental in character and involves a new method of control which combines a limitation of numbers with certain selective features. This legislation has raised many questions as to its adequacy in meeting the problem.

Numerous practical difficulties lie in the way of a solution, but that these difficulties must and can be surmounted is the growing opinion of most students of the problem. These difficulties involve, broadly, the problem of deciding how many immigrants shall be admitted and how the number may be limited without national or racial discrimination, the problem of the selection of the most desirable types of immigrants, and that of distributing and assimilating the immigrants admitted in accordance with economic and social needs. Because the questions of the numbers to be admitted and the selection of desirable immigrants lie at the basis of questions of distribution and assimilation, the concrete suggestions for changes in legislation and policy relate chiefly to these aspects of the problem. The tendency in the suggestions offered is toward an elaboration of the device of a percentage limitation of numbers on the basis of the alien stocks in the United States at certain census periods. The tendency in recommendations for improving the selection of immigrants is toward closer international cooperation in eliminating un-

desirables and in selecting desirables in foreign countries before embarkation. The method of percentage limitation, however, involves difficult questions as to the justice and adequacy of the basis of such limitation from the economic, social and international points of view, and the selection of immigrants abroad raises questions of international policy. The suggestions for immigration policy in both of these directions emphasize furthermore the necessity, first, of fuller knowledge regarding American economic needs and regarding the social and racial aspects of the immigration problem, and second, the formulation, on the basis of such knowledge, of a broad national concept regarding the objective to be sought in the assimilation of the alien population. In short, the national policy with regard to the number of immigrants admitted, the principle and methods of their selection, and the distribution of immigrants, depends fundamentally upon the formulation of a policy of social and economic assimilation based upon comprehensive and scientific knowledge regarding the broad economic and social needs of the nation. Finally, since the immigration problem increasingly involves international relations, in the formulation of her own national policy the United States will have to take account of foreign conditions and developments.

The survey in the foregoing chapters shows that the immigration problem is essentially a human problem, international in scope and involving deep and far-reaching racial and social questions. It is clear, therefore, that a wise, comprehensive and humane national immigration policy cannot be based exclusively on the consideration of any immediate, special, local or purely economic aspect of the problem, but must be developed out of broad, far-sighted and scientifically-grounded views of national and international social and economic progress and human welfare.

APPENDIX

TABLE A: IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, AND NET IMMIGRATION OR EMIGRATION, BY RACE OR PEOPLE, FOR FISCAL YEARS 1908–1922, INCLUSIVE*

Race or people	1908			1909		
	Immigration	Emigration	Net[a]	Immigration	Emigration	Net[a]
African (Black)	4,626	889	3,737	4,307	1,104	3,203
Armenian	3,299	234	3,065	3,108	561	2,547
Bohemian and Moravian	10,164	1,051	9,113	6,850	746	6,104
Bulgarian, Serbian and Montenegrin	18,246	5,965	12,281	6,214	2,422	3,792
Chinese	1,263	3,898	– 2,635	1,841	3,397	– 1,556
Croatian and Slovenian	20,472	28,589	– 8,117	20,181	9,014	11,167
Cuban	3,323	2,089	1,234	3,380	1,243	2,137
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian	3,747	1,046	2,701	1,888	515	1,373
Dutch and Flemish	9,526	1,198	8,328	8,114	903	7,211
East Indian	1,710	124	1,586	337	48	289
English	49,056	5,320	43,736	39,021	5,061	33,960
Finnish	6,746	3,463	3,283	11,687	1,427	10,260
French	12,881	3,063	9,818	19,423	2,862	16,561
German	73,038	14,418	58,620	58,534	13,541	44,993
Greek	28,808	6,763	22,045	20,262	6,275	13,987
Hebrew	103,387	7,702	95,685	57,551	6,105	51,446
Irish	36,427	2,441	33,986	31,185	2,059	29,126
Italian (North)	24,700	19,507	5,193	25,150	16,658	8,492
Italian (South)	110,547	147,828	–37,281	165,248	69,781	95,467
Japanese	16,418	5,323	11,095	3,275	3,903	– 628
Korean	26	188	– 162	11	114	– 103
Lithuanian	13,720	3,388	10,332	15,254	1,990	13,264
Magyar	24,378	29,276	– 4,898	28,704	11,507	17,197
Mexican	5,682	173	5,509	15,591	158	15,433
Pacific Islander	2	7	– 5	7	4	3
Polish	68,105	46,727	21,378	77,565	19,290	58,275
Portuguese	6,809	898	5,911	4,606	816	3,790
Rumanian	9,629	5,264	4,365	8,041	1,352	6,689
Russian	17,111	7,507	9,604	10,038	5,125	4,913
Ruthenian (Russniak)	12,361	3,310	9,051	15,808	1,672	14,136
Scandinavian (Norwegians, Danes and Swedes)	32,789	5,801	26,988	34,996	7,257	27,739
Scotch	17,014	1,596	15,418	16,446	1,618	14,828
Slovak	16,170	23,573	– 7,403	22,586	8,894	13,692
Spanish	6,636	1,977	4,659	4,939	1,834	3,105
Spanish American	1,063	333	730	890	305	585
Syrian	5,520	1,700	3,820	3,668	1,204	2,464
Turkish	2,327	1,276	1,051	820	725	95
Welsh	2,504	163	2,341	1,699	171	1,528
West Indian (except Cuban)	1,110	375	735	1,024	394	630
Other peoples	1,530	630	900	1,537	1,874	– 337
Not specified	.....	.....	.....	.....	11,873	–11,873
Total	782,870	395,073	387,797	751,786	225,802	525,984

*Source: U. S. Bureau of Immigration. Compiled from the Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration.

[a]Figures preceded by a minus (–) sign indicate net emigration; all others indicate net immigration.

TABLE A: IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, AND NET IMMIGRATION OR EMIGRATION, BY RACE OR PEOPLE, FOR FISCAL YEARS 1908–1922, INCLUSIVE—*continued*

Race or People	1910			1911		
	Immigration	Emigration	Net[a]	Immigration	Emigration	Net[a]
African (Black)	4,966	926	4,040	6,721	913	5,808
Armenian	5,508	521	4,987	3,092	999	2,093
Bohemian and Moravian	8,462	943	7,519	9,223	1,208	8,015
Bulgarian, Serbian and Montenegrin	15,130	2,720	12,410	10,222	6,472	3,750
Chinese	1,770	2,383	−613	1,307	2,716	−1,409
Croatian and Slovenian	39,562	7,133	32,429	18,982	13,735	5,247
Cuban	3,331	1,556	1,775	3,914	2,234	1,680
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian	4,911	432	4,479	4,400	935	3,465
Dutch and Flemish	13,012	1,192	11,820	13,862	1,689	12,173
East Indian	1,782	80	1,702	517	75	442
English	53,498	6,508	46,990	57,258	9,432	47,826
Finnish	15,736	1,276	14,460	9,779	4,219	5,560
French	21,107	4,029	17,078	18,132	3,400	14,732
German	71,380	13,303	58,077	66,471	15,243	51,228
Greek	39,135	8,814	30,321	37,021	11,134	25,887
Hebrew	84,260	5,689	78,571	91,223	6,401	84,822
Irish	38,382	2,472	35,910	40,246	3,300	36,946
Italian (North)	30,780	13,431	17,349	30,312	14,209	16,103
Italian (South)	192,673	41,772	150,901	159,638	62,009	97,629
Japanese	2,798	4,377	−1,579	4,575	3,351	1,224
Korean	19	137	−118	8	41	−33
Lithuanian	22,714	1,812	20,902	17,027	2,430	14,597
Magyar	27,302	10,533	16,769	19,996	18,975	1,021
Mexican	17,760	210	17,550	18,784	319	18,465
Pacific Islander	61	1	60	12	1	11
Polish	128,348	16,884	111,464	71,446	31,952	39,494
Portuguese	7,657	906	6,751	7,469	1,388	6,081
Rumanian	14,199	1,834	12,365	5,311	5,230	81
Russian	17,294	5,682	11,612	18,721	8,439	10,282
Ruthenian (Russniak)	27,907	1,719	26,188	17,724	3,838	13,886
Scandinavian (Norwegians, Danes and Swedes)	52,037	5,032	47,005	45,859	8,036	37,823
Scotch	24,612	1,992	22,620	25,625	3,083	22,542
Slovak	32,416	9,259	23,157	21,415	15,561	5,854
Spanish	5,837	2,323	3,514	8,068	2,518	5,550
Spanish American	900	387	513	1,153	374	779
Syrian	6,317	1,077	5,240	5,444	1,173	4,271
Turkish	1,283	1,058	225	918	1,633	−715
Welsh	2,244	195	2,049	2,248	255	1,993
West Indian (except Cuban)	1,150	388	762	1,141	344	797
Other peoples	3,330	806	2,524	3,323	862	2,461
Not specified	.....	20,644	−20,644	.....	25,540	−25,540
Total	1,041,570	202,436	839,134	878,587	295,666	582,921

[a]Figures preceded by a minus (−) sign indicate net emigration; all others indicate net immigration.

TABLE A: IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, AND NET IMMIGRATION OR EMIGRATION, BY RACE OR PEOPLE, FOR FISCAL YEARS 1908–1922, INCLUSIVE—*continued*

Race or People	1912			1913		
	Immigration	Emigration	Net[a]	Immigration	Emigration	Net[a]
African (Black)	6,759	1,288	5,471	6,634	1,671	4,963
Armenian	5,222	718	4,504	9,353	676	8,677
Bohemian and Moravian	8,439	1,149	7,290	11,091	871	10,220
Bulgarian, Serbian and Montenegrin	10,657	7,349	3,308	9,087	13,525	−4,438
Chinese	1,608	2,549	−941	2,022	2,250	−228
Croatian and Slovenian	24,366	13,963	10,403	42,499	10,209	32,290
Cuban	3,155	1,963	1,192	3,099	1,264	1,835
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian	3,672	927	2,745	4,520	849	3,671
Dutch and Flemish	10,935	1,816	9,119	14,507	2,145	12,362
East Indian	165	164	1	188	213	−25
English	49,689	10,341	39,348	55,522	10,794	44,728
Finnish	6,641	4,148	2,493	12,756	3,053	9,703
French	18,382	4,189	14,193	20,652	4,019	16,633
German	65,343	15,026	50,317	80,865	11,871	68,994
Greek	31,566	13,323	18,243	38,644	31,556	7,088
Hebrew	80,595	7,418	73,177	101,330	6,697	94,633
Irish	33,922	4,086	29,836	37,023	4,458	32,565
Italian (North)	26,443	13,006	13,437	42,534	10,995	31,539
Italian (South)	135,830	96,881	38,949	231,613	79,057	152,556
Japanese	6,172	1,501	4,671	8,302	733	7,569
Korean	33	55	−22	64	44	20
Lithuanian	14,078	4,141	9,937	24,647	3,276	21,371
Magyar	23,599	17,575	6,024	30,610	11,496	19,114
Mexican	22,001	325	21,676	10,954	910	10,044
Pacific Islander	3	4	−1	11	4	7
Polish	85,163	37,764	47,399	174,365	24,107	150,258
Portuguese	9,403	1,747	7,656	13,566	1,583	11,983
Rumanian	8,329	5,824	2,505	13,451	3,156	10,295
Russian	22,558	9,744	12,814	51,472	10,548	40,924
Ruthenian (Russniak)	21,965	5,521	16,444	30,588	5,327	25,261
Scandinavian (Norwegians, Danes and Swedes)	31,601	10,380	21,221	38,737	9,291	29,446
Scotch	20,293	3,456	16,837	21,293	4,118	17,175
Slovak	25,281	12,526	12,755	27,234	9,854	17,380
Spanish	9,070	2,569	6,501	9,042	3,181	5,861
Spanish American	1,342	343	999	1,363	457	906
Syrian	5,525	972	4,553	9,210	797	8,413
Turkish	1,336	1,366	−30	2,015	1,297	718
Welsh	2,239	301	1,938	2,820	298	2,522
West Indian (except Cuban)	1,132	530	602	1,171	584	587
Other peoples	3,660	1,113	2,547	3,038	1,118	1,920
Not specified	.....	15,201	−15,201	.....	19,838	−19,838
Total	838,172	333,262	504,910	1,197,892	308,190	889,702

[a]Figures preceded by a minus (−) sign indicate net emigration; all others indicate net immigration.

TABLE A: IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, AND NET IMMIGRATION OR EMIGRATION, BY RACE OR PEOPLE, FOR FISCAL YEARS 1908–1922, INCLUSIVE—*continued*

Race or People	1914			1915		
	Immigration	Emigration	Net[a]	Immigration	Emigration	Net[a]
African (Black)	8,447	1,805	6,642	5,660	1,644	4,016
Armenian	7,785	1,250	6,535	932	444	488
Bohemian and Moravian	9,928	1,011	8,917	1,651	219	1,432
Bulgarian, Serbian and Montenegrin	15,084	5,780	9,304	3,506	2,354	1,152
Chinese	2,354	2,059	295	2,469	1,959	510
Croatian and Slovenian	37,284	14,440	22,844	1,942	2,381	−439
Cuban	3,539	947	2,592	3,402	2,536	866
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian	5,149	878	4,271	305	105	200
Dutch and Flemish	12,566	2,252	10,314	6,675	1,340	5,335
East Indian	172	143	29	82	162	−80
English	51,746	11,187	40,559	38,662	10,372	28,290
Finnish	12,805	2,941	9,864	3,472	845	2,627
French	18,166	2,930	15,236	12,636	5,799	6,837
German	79,871	11,977	67,894	20,729	2 749	17,980
Greek	45,881	11,266	34,615	15,187	9,767	5,420
Hebrew	138,051	6,826	131,225	26,497	1,524	24,973
Irish	33,898	4,689	29,209	23,503	2,948	20,555
Italian (North)	44,802	12,663	32,139	10,660	7,539	3,121
Italian (South)	251,612	72,767	178,845	46,557	89,969	−43,412
Japanese	8,941	794	8,147	8,609	825	7,784
Korean	152	43	109	146	47	99
Lithuanian	21,584	5,522	16,062	2,638	988	1,650
Magyar	44,538	14,254	30,284	3,604	2,262	1,342
Mexican	13,089	1,670	11,419	10,993	573	10,420
Pacific Islander	1	2	−1	6	5	1
Polish	122,657	35,028	87,629	9,065	7,912	1,153
Portuguese	9,647	1,848	7,799	4,376	2,526	1,850
Rumanian	24,070	3,837	20,233	1,200	899	301
Russian	44,957	17,491	27,466	4,459	11,256	− 6,797
Ruthenian (Russniak)	36,727	5,049	31,678	2,933	860	2,073
Scandinavian (Norwegians, Danes and Swedes)	36,053	8,073	27,980	24,263	3,473	20,790
Scotch	18,997	3,923	15,074	14,310	2,714	11,596
Slovak	25,819	11,786	14,033	2,069	1,398	671
Spanish	11,064	3,214	7,850	5,705	4,347	1,358
Spanish American	1,544	542	1,002	1,667	560	1,107
Syrian	9,023	1,200	7,823	1,767	433	1,334
Turkish	2,693	890	1,803	273	208	65
Welsh	2,558	395	2,163	1,390	253	1,137
West Indian (except Cuban)	1,396	677	719	823	480	343
Other peoples	3,830	1,470	2,360	1,877	511	1,366
Not specified	.....	17,819	−17,819	.....	16,888	−16,888
Total	1,218,480	303,338	915,142	326,700	204,074	122,626

[a]Figures preceded by a minus (−) sign indicate net emigration; all others indicate net immigration.

TABLE A: IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, AND NET IMMIGRATION OR EMIGRATION, BY RACE OR PEOPLE, FOR FISCAL YEARS 1908–1922, INCLUSIVE—*continued*

Race or People	1916			1917		
	Immigration	Emigration	Net[a]	Immigration	Emigration	Net[a]
African (Black)	4,576	1,684	2,892	7,971	1,497	6,474
Armenian	964	659	305	1,221	133	1,088
Bohemian and Moravian	642	42	600	327	59	268
Bulgarian, Serbian and Montenegrin	3,146	290	2,856	1,134	325	809
Chinese	2,239	2,148	91	1,843	1,799	44
Croatian and Slovenian	791	76	715	305	24	281
Cuban	3,442	1,454	1,988	3,428	2,395	1,033
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian	114	4	110	94	6	88
Dutch and Flemish	6,443	742	5,701	5,393	742	4,651
East Indian	80	91	−11	69	136	67
English	36,168	7,826	28,342	32,246	6,316	25,930
Finnish	5,649	543	5,106	5,900	1,256	4,644
French	19,518	2,297	17,221	24,405	2,829	21,576
German	11,555	873	10,682	9,682	767	8,915
Greek	26,792	4,855	21,937	25,919	2,082	23,837
Hebrew	15,108	199	14,909	17,342	329	17,013
Irish	20,636	1,851	18,785	17,462	1 736	15,726
Italian (North)	4,905	4,020	885	3,796	3,478	318
Italian (South)	33,909	68,981	−35,072	35,154	10,016	25,138
Japanese	8,711	780	7 931	8,925	722	8,203
Korean	154	29	125	194	45	149
Lithuanian	599	28	571	479	38	441
Magyar	981	394	587	434	123	311
Mexican	17,198	559	16,639	16,438	759	15,679
Pacific Islander	5	3	2	10	4	6
Polish	4,502	358	4,144	3,109	119	2,990
Portuguese	12,208	2,185	10,023	10,194	1,313	8,881
Rumanian	953	138	815	522	61	461
Russian	4,858	4,716	142	3,711	6,393	−2,682
Ruthenian (Russniak)	1,365	17	1,348	1,211	21	1,190
Scandinavian (Norwegians, Danes and Swedes)	19,172	3,954	15,218	19,596	4,550	15,046
Scotch	13,515	2,096	11,419	13,350	1,618	11,732
Slovak	577	74	503	244	34	210
Spanish	9,259	2,792	6,467	15,019	3,524	11,495
Spanish American	1,881	516	1,365	2,587	612	1,975
Syrian	676	120	556	976	110	866
Turkish	216	41	175	454	54	400
Welsh	983	214	769	793	130	663
West Indian (except Cuban)	948	603	345	1,369	520	849
Other peoples	3,388	769	2,619	2,097	504	1,593
Not specified	.....	10,744	−10,744	.....	9,098	−9,098
Total	298,826	129,765	169,061	295,403	66,277	229,126

[a]Figures preceded by a minus (−) sign indicate net emigration; all others indicate net immigration.

TABLE A: IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, AND NET IMMIGRATION OR EMIGRATION, BY RACE OR PEOPLE, FOR FISCAL YEARS 1908–1922, INCLUSIVE—*continued*

Race or People	1918			1919		
	Immigration	Emigration	Net[a]	Immigration	Emigration	Net[a]
African (Black)	5,706	1,291	4,415	5,823	976	4,847
Armenian	221	1,238	–1,017	282	11	271
Bohemian and Moravian	74	455	–381	105	412	–307
Bulgarian, Serbian and Montenegrin	150	918	–768	205	3,241	–3,036
Chinese	1,576	2,239	–663	1,697	2,062	–365
Croatian and Slovenian	33	31	2	23	154	–131
Cuban	1,179	1,141	38	1,169	898	271
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian	15	13	2	4	2	2
Dutch and Flemish	2,200	698	1,502	2,735	1,356	1,379
East Indian	61	154	–93	68	106	–38
English	12,980	12,810	170	26,889	9,406	17,483
Finnish	1,867	1,596	271	968	497	471
French	6,840	5,427	1,413	12,598	5,472	7,126
German	1,992	563	1,429	1,837	343	1,494
Greek	2,602	2,952	–350	813	15,562	–14,749
Hebrew	3,672	687	2,985	3,055	373	2,682
Irish	4,657	3,071	1,586	7,910	1,934	5,976
Italian (North)	1,074	1,041	33	1,236	1,195	41
Italian (South)	5,234	8,135	–2,901	2,137	36,980	–34,843
Japanese	10,168	1,558	8,610	10,056	2,127	7,929
Korean	149	77	72	77	23	54
Lithuanian	135	45	90	160	6	154
Magyar	32	41	–9	52	10	42
Mexican	17,602	25,084	–7,482	28,844	17,793	11,051
Pacific Islander	17	6	11	6	2	4
Polish	668	1,035	–367	732	153	579
Portuguese	2,319	2,016	303	1,574	3,525	–1,951
Rumanian	155	61	94	89	60	29
Russian	1,513	4,926	–3,413	1,532	1,717	–185
Ruthenian (Russniak)	49	25	24	103	2	101
Scandinavian (Norwegians, Danes and Swedes)	8,741	4,665	4,076	8,261	4,865	3,396
Scotch	5,204	3,307	1,897	10,364	1,687	8,677
Slovak	35	453	–418	85	1,150	–1,065
Spanish	7,909	4,182	3,727	4,224	7,489	–3,265
Spanish American	2,231	736	1,495	3,092	799	2,293
Syrian	210	160	50	231	132	99
Turkish	24	58	–34	18	275	–257
Welsh	278	263	15	608	156	452
West Indian (except Cuban)	732	426	306	1,223	336	887
Other peoples	314	1,001	–687	247	235	12
Not specified	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	110,618	94,585	16,033	141,132	123,522	17,610

[a]Figures preceded by a minus (–) sign indicate net emigration; all others indicate net immigration.

TABLE A: IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, AND NET IMMIGRATION OR EMIGRATION, BY RACE OR PEOPLE, FOR FISCAL YEARS 1908–1922, INCLUSIVE—*continued*

Race or People	1920			1921		
	Immigration	Emigration	Net[a]	Immigration	Emigration	Net[a]
African (Black)	8,174	1,275	6,899	9,873	1,807	8,066
Armenian	2,762	584	2,178	10,212	605	9,607
Bohemian and Moravian	415	259	156	1,743	564	1,179
Bulgarian, Serbian and Montenegrin	1,064	23,844	–22,780	7,700	9,940	– 2,240
Chinese	2,148	2,961	– 813	4,017	5,253	– 1,236
Croatian and Slovenian	493	7,481	– 6,988	11,035	3,306	7,729
Cuban	1,510	1,598	– 88	1,523	1,059	464
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian	63	1,533	– 1,470	930	909	21
Dutch and Flemish	12,730	3,016	9,714	12,813	2,405	10,408
East Indian	160	162	– 2	353	137	216
English	58,366	11,659	46,707	54,627	11,622	43,005
Finnish	1,510	1,447	63	4,233	2,480	1,753
French	27,390	7,026	20,364	24,122	3,836	20,286
German	7,338	4,178	3,160	24,168	6,770	17,398
Greek	13,998	20,319	– 6,321	31,828	13,470	18,358
Hebrew	14,292	358	13,934	119,036	483	118,553
Irish	20,784	4,635	16,149	39,056	2,535	36,521
Italian (North)	12,918	8,159	4,759	27,459	11,447	16,012
Italian (South)	84,882	80,955	3,927	195,037	37,032	158,005
Japanese	9,279	4,238	5,041	7,531	4,352	3,179
Korean	72	14	58	61	33	28
Lithuanian	422	719	– 297	829	4,507	– 3,678
Magyar	252	14,619	–14,367	9,377	12,457	– 3,080
Mexican	51,042	6,412	44,630	29,603	5,519	24,084
Pacific Islander	17	3	14	13	1	12
Polish	2,519	18,392	–15,873	21,146	42,207	–21,061
Portuguese	15,174	4,859	10,315	18,856	5,144	13,712
Rumanian	898	21,490	–20,592	5,925	8,603	– 2,678
Russian	2,378	1,151	1,227	2,887	11,085	– 8,198
Ruthenian (Russniak)	258	693	– 435	958	465	493
Scandinavian (Norwegians, Danes and Swedes)	16,621	8,246	8,375	25,812	6,944	18,868
Scotch	21,180	2,577	18,603	24,649	2,027	22,622
Slovak	3,824	11,568	– 7,744	35,047	17,625	17,422
Spanish	23,594	5,144	18,450	27,448	4,961	22,487
Spanish American	3,934	1,126	2,808	3,325	1,536	1,789
Syrian	3,047	1,652	1,395	5,105	1,599	3,506
Turkish	140	1,340	– 1,200	353	713	– 360
Welsh	1,462	195	1,267	1,748	167	1,581
West Indian (except Cuban)	1,546	626	920	1,553	656	897
Other peoples	1,345	1,802	– 457	3,237	1,457	1,780
Not specified	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	430,001	288,315	141,686	805,228	247,718	557,510

[a]Figures preceded by a minus (–) sign indicate net emigration; all others indicate net immigration.

TABLE A: IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, AND NET IMMIGRATION OR EMIGRATION, BY RACE OR PEOPLE, FOR FISCAL YEARS 1908–1922, INCLUSIVE—*continued*

Race or People	1922			Total, 1908–1922		
	Immigration	Emigration	Net[a]	Immigration	Emigration	Net[a]
African (Black)	5,248	2,183	3,065	95,491	20,953	74,538
Armenian	2,249	253	1,996	56,210	8,886	47,324
Bohemian and Moravian	3,086	4,246	– 1,160	72,200	13,235	58,965
Bulgarian, Serbian and Montenegrin	1,370	5,877	– 4,507	102,915	91,022	11,893
Chinese	4,465	6,146	– 1,681	32,619	43,819	– 11,200
Croatian and Slovenian	3,783	3,997	– 214	221,751	114,533	107,218
Cuban	698	909	– 211	40,092	23,286	16,806
Dalmatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian	307	549	– 242	30,119	8,703	21,416
Dutch and Flemish	3,749	2,157	1,592	135,260	23,651	111,609
East Indian	223	218	5	5,967	2,013	3,954
English	30,429	9,668	20,761	646,157	138,322	507,835
Finnish	2,506	1,254	1,252	102,255	30,445	71,810
French	13,617	3,464	10,153	269,869	60,642	209,227
German	31,218	5,715	25,503	604,021	117,337	486,684
Greek	3,821	7,649	– 3,828	362,277	165,787	196,490
Hebrew	53,524	830	52,694	908,923	51,621	857,302
Irish	17,191	2,485	14,706	402,282	44,700	357,582
Italian (North)	6,098	7,448	– 1,350	292,867	144,796	148,071
Italian (South)	35,056	46,562	–11,506	1,685,127	948,725	736,402
Japanese	6,361	4,353	2,008	120,121	38,937	81,184
Korean	88	50	38	1,254	940	314
Lithuanian	1,602	4,606	– 3,004	135,888	33,496	102,392
Magyar	6,037	4,758	1,279	219,896	148,280	71,616
Mexican	18,246	5,770	12,476	293,827	66,234	227,593
Pacific Islander	7	5	2	178	52	126
Polish	6,357	31,004	–24,647	775,747	312,932	462,815
Portuguese	1,867	6,052	– 4,185	125,725	36,806	88,919
Rumanian	1,520	4,219	– 2,699	94,292	62,028	32,264
Russian	2,486	2,891	– 405	205,975	108,671	97,304
Ruthenian (Russniak)	698	448	250	170,655	28,967	141,688
Scandinavian (Norwegians, Danes and Swedes)	16,678	4,417	12,261	411,216	94,984	316,232
Scotch	15,596	1,659	13,937	262,448	37,471	224,977
Slovak	6,001	3,451	2,550	218,803	127,206	91,597
Spanish	1,879	7,838	– 5,959	149,693	57,893	91,800
Spanish American	1,446	1,791	– 345	28,418	10,417	18,001
Syrian	1,334	1,396	– 62	58,053	13,725	44,328
Turkish	40	272	– 232	12,910	11,206	1,704
Welsh	956	154	802	24,530	3,310	21,220
West Indian (except Cuban)	976	820	156	17,294	7,759	9,535
Other peoples	743	1,148	– 405	33,496	15,300	18,196
Not specified	.....	.....	.....	.....	147,645	–147,645
Total	309,556	198,712	110,844	9,426,821	3,416,735	6,010,086

[a]Figures preceded by a minus (–) sign indicate net emigration; all others indicate net immigration.

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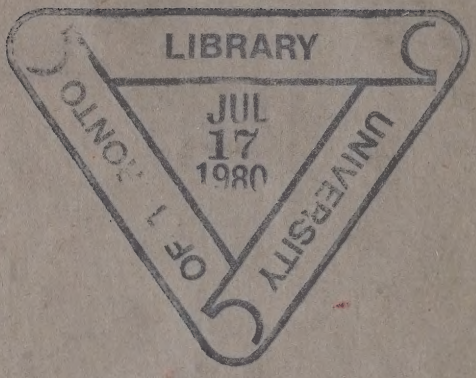
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